

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



DECEMBER, 1900



EDITORIALS

THE NASHOTAH LITURGY

With Introduction by Edward S. White

CONCERNING THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE CHURCH, 1866-1869

By G. Matthews Bryson

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH

By Raphael Soderstrom

ALEXANDER WHITAKER (1783-1867), "THE APOSTLE OF VIRGINIA"

By William B. Ewing

BOOK REVIEWS

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of the Protestant Episcopal Church



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Editorials

The Philippine Independent Church and St. Andrew's Theological Seminary

THE August, 1960, issue of *The Diocesan Chronicle of the Philippine Episcopal Church* is especially interesting and historically important.* It is devoted to the concerns of the Philippine Independent Church ("Iglesia Filipina Independiente"), which is the largest non-Roman Christian Church in Asia, and which received the Apostolic Succession from the American Episcopal Church on April 7, 1948.**

According to its Supreme Bishop, Mons. Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., the "Iglesia Filipina Independiente" has "estimated two million faithful" members; "about 550 parish churches in the towns and cities of the Philippines; 2,000 chapels in the barrios and rural areas, and is served by a clergy composed of 580 priests, 20 diocesan bishops, 18 suffragan bishops; two Apostolic Prefectures, and the dedicated cooperation of about 20,000 members of the Woman's Auxiliary, approximately the same number of laymen organized in Laymen's Committees, and countless youth organizations of both sexes."***

The importance of our theological seminaries was never more strikingly set forth than it is by the Supreme Bishop in his article on "The Philippine Independent Church Today." He states that his Church welcomes

"the generous help of the American Episcopal Church in training our divinity students at St. Andrew's Seminary near Manila, where today something like fifty of our best young men are undergoing excellent training for the priesthood.

"The demand from all parts of the Philippines for St. Andrew's graduated priests is so great that one of the main sorrows of the Bishops is that so much exceeds the available supply. Such demand is no surprise when the record of accomplishments by the new priests is examined. Wherever one of these young priests is assigned, in a manner of short months, a new, cemented and lovely parish church soon replaces the former dilapidated wooden structure; the congregation becomes aglow with religious fervor; and the local intelligentsia soon joins the Church with religious en-

* Vol. XXXVIII (August, 1960), No. 4. P. O. Box 655, Manila. \$2.00 per year, published bi-monthly.

** See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVII (1948), 132-139; XXVII (1958), 209-246.

*** *Diocesan Chronicle*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

thusiasm springing not merely from religious nationalism, but from a deeper appreciation of Christ's Gospel. This splendid record of the St. Andrew's Seminary graduates has served as a fresh, stimulating incentive for the rest of the clergy."†

There can be little doubt that St. Andrew's Seminary is playing its part in fashioning Bishop de los Reyes' vision of the future:

"As the true expression of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in the Philippines, the 'Iglesia Filipina Independiente' looks confidently toward the future, praying for the blessings of God which have brought it through hardships in the past as it seeks to do His will in our beloved country."

WALTER H. STOWE

St. James' Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

THIS colonial parish was founded in 1744—forty years before the first bishop was consecrated for America. By 1751, there was a "pretty congregation and a good church, built of stone."

The greater part of the present church was erected 140 years ago, in 1820, on part of the foundations of the original colonial structure. In 1880, it was enlarged, and a massive brick tower was added in the same Romanesque style as the church.

In the walls and floor of the chancel, choir and nave are set many interesting gravestones, tablets and markers in memory of former priests, bishops and parishioners. In the southeast corner of the nave is a tablet to George Ross, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and member of the congregation.

The churchyard is, perhaps, as interesting as the church itself. It is enclosed by an old brick wall with fine wrought-iron gates, which are excellent examples of the colonial blacksmith's art. Here lie the mortal remains of many Revolutionary War heroes, such as General Edward Hand, Colonel Matthias Slough, Private Frederick Stone, Major John Light, Lieutenant Wilder Bevins, and many others.

Nor are St. James' famous parishioners limited to those who served their country in time of war. Buried here, too, are men like Thomas Cookson, the first burgess of Lancaster; William Augustus Atlee, judge of the first Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; Thomas Henry Burrowes, father of the Pennsylvania public schools; and Henry Bates Grubb, the famous ironmaster.

† *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The magnificent elm trees, planted well over 100 years ago, lend an old-world charm, and their inviting shade tempts the visitor to linger, read the quaint inscriptions and forget for a moment the hurly-burly of the modern world just beyond the churchyard wall.

Major-General Edward Hand (1744-1802), M.D.

General Hand—physician, Revolutionary soldier, Churchman—is one of the more famous members of St. James' Church. Born in Ireland, he studied medicine at Trinity College, Dublin, and emigrated to Philadelphia in 1767 as surgeon's mate in the 18th Royal Irish Regiment. In 1774, he resigned his commission, and moved to Lancaster to practice medicine. The next year, he threw in his lot with the revolutionists, and was conspicuous throughout the war as a soldier. He rose from lieutenant-colonel to major-general.

"His energy and daring as a soldier and his excellent horsemanship and skill in military science won the affection of his troops, albeit he was a strict disciplinarian. He was regarded highly by Washington for his zeal and ability."*

After the war, General Hand was active in political and civic affairs. In 1791, he was elected to the vestry of St. James' Church, and in 1794 he was promoted to the office of People's Warden. "By his willingness to give medical aid gratuitously to the poor, [he] distinguished himself as a public benefactor."**

ROBERT C. BATCHELDER†

"Brydon Hall" of the Church of St. James the Less, Ashland, Virginia

IT is not often that a living person is privileged to see a monument erected in his honor, and to participate in its dedication. We understand that when Bishop Charles Gore was translated from the diocese of Birmingham to that of Oxford, England, the citizens of Birmingham paid him the rare honor of commemorating his great work for that city by erecting a statue of him near the west door of the cathedral.

The Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, one of the founders of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, a member of the Joint Commission of General Convention under whose authority it is published, and for many years the

* *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 223-224, and bibliography therein.

** *Ibid.*, p. 224.

† Rector of St. James' Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

senior associate editor, has recently experienced this rare honor. On Sunday, September 18, 1960, the Parish Hall of the Church of St. James the Less, Ashland, Virginia, was dedicated as "Brydon Hall," and Dr. Brydon, who was eighty-five years old on June 27th last, was present and participated in the dedication.

Dr. Brydon was rector of this parish from 1926 until 1949—for 23 years—in addition to his onerous responsibilities as a diocesan officer and historiographer of the diocese of Virginia.

Our sincere congratulations!

WALTER H. STOWE

It May Seem Incredible, But It Is True!

A PRIEST in the area of Washington, D. C., who wishes to remain anonymous, states in a letter to us:

"I have read every issue of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE by visiting the Virginia Theological Seminary Library (Alexandria, Virginia) and the Library of Congress to consult those published before my subscription began."

This number—December, 1960—completes the publication of a total of 29 volumes and over 11,500 pages of Church history and biography. This testimonial should be enough to convince anyone of the permanent value of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; of the usefulness of its past as well as its present volumes to the rising generation of clergymen and laymen who were not on the scene early enough to be subscribers to earlier volumes; of the importance of theological seminary *libraries*, for relatively few clergymen can be near the Library of Congress, and *every* theological seminary library should have a complete file of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

WALTER H. STOWE

Do Our Subscribers Read Their Mail?

ON October 14, 1960, a U.S. Post Card from the office of the Church Historical Society in Austin, Texas, was sent to all members of the Society, reading as follows:

Dear Member:

The Annual Reports of the Society will be published in the September 1960 issue of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. A copy will be sent you. If you are a subscriber to the Magazine, you will thus

receive an extra copy. If you do not wish to keep the extra copy, please do *not* return it, but give it to some friend in the hope of obtaining a new subscriber to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

(Signed) WALTER H. STOWE
President

Judging by the deluge of letters and post cards, our subscribers do *not* read their *first class mail*! We have been told that something is wrong with our mailing lists, etc., etc.

Now, any subscriber to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE who is also a member of the Church Historical Society must *of right* receive an extra copy, for the Society bought and paid for enough copies to send to all its members.

Instead of belaboring the editors of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, pray do what the Post Card asked: "Try to secure a new subscriber for the Magazine by giving some prospect the copy you do not wish to keep!"

WALTER H. STOWE
Editor in Chief

Associate Editor Klingberg Honored!

Copy of the Wording of the Honorary Degree Conferred
Upon Frank J. Klingberg at the 41st Commencement of
the University of California, Los Angeles,
June 10, 1960

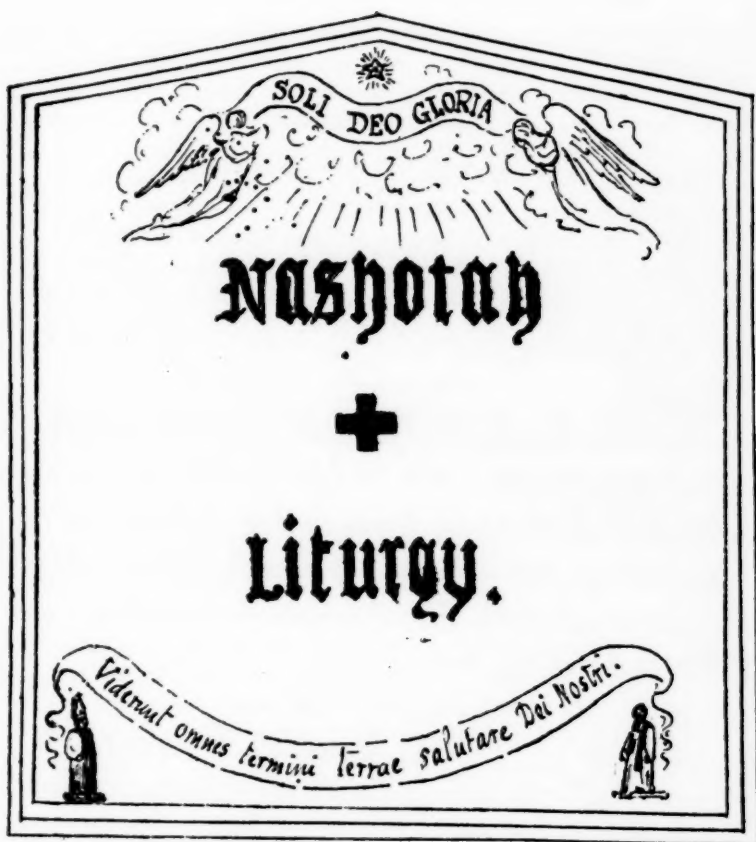
THE Regents of the University of California in recognition of his meritorious achievements have conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws upon Frank Joseph Klingberg, a member of the faculty in history at Los Angeles since 1919, the first year of the existence of this campus as part of the University of California Chairman of your department for eighteen years * A leading scholar, and mentor of other well-trained scholars, in the history of British Colonialism and Commonwealth affairs, tracing with insight and skill the effects of British humanitarianism and Christian missionary efforts on the overseas empire * Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and member of the Authors' Club of London * Holder of the Commonwealth Club Medal, awarded for "The Morning of America," one of the many books which make available to all the results of your scholarly work * Your University honors today your life-long dedication to the gathering and sharing of Knowledge.*

June 10, 1966

*Lessons Drawn From History Are
A Necessity To The Perpetuation
of National Existence*

“*A* pioneer American statesman, Patrick Henry, once said, ‘I know of no means of judging the future but by the past.’ A nation interested in the past can do much to insure its own preservation. A modern philosopher, Santayana, says, ‘Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it’; and as development and change are inevitable in the world as a whole, the lessons drawn from history are a necessity to the perpetuation of national existence.”

—VAHAN M. KURKJIAN, *A History of Armenia* (New York, 1958), in the opening paragraph of the Preface.



Office of Devotion
of the United Brethren of the religious house
established at
Nashotah W. T.

*The Brethren being assembled, let one of the Clergy begin the services
by saying*

*Prevent, we beseech Thee, O Lord, all our doings with Thy
most gracious inspirations, and further them with Thy con-
tinual help, that every prayer and work of ours may be-
gin always from Thee, and by Thee be happily ended,
and more especially this service we are now entering upon,
through Christ our Lord. Amen.*

Then shall the Reader say



*In the Name of the Father, and of the
Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*

NOTE: "Nashotah W. T." means Nashotah, Wisconsin Territory. Wisconsin did not become a State of the Union until 1848.—*Editor's note.*

The Nashotah Liturgy

With Introduction by Edward S. White*

JAMES LLOYD BRECK (1818-1876)¹ was the fourth son among fourteen children born to George and Catherine D. (Israell) Breck, near Philadelphia. He had a strong religious bent from childhood, and by the time he was sixteen years old, he had decided to embrace a life of hardship in the mission field.

He attended the academy of the Rev. Dr. William A. Muhlenberg at Flushing, Long Island, New York, and in 1838 was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. As a member of the Class of 1841 in the General Theological Seminary, New York City, he came under the influence of the Rev. Dr. William R. Whittingham, professor of Church history and later Bishop of Maryland. The Oxford Movement was then beginning to make its impact felt in the American Church, and the General Seminary was greatly influenced by it.

While in seminary, Breck conceived the idea of a brotherhood of celibate clergy—a disciplined religious community life. When Bishop Jackson Kemper visited the seminary after his first missionary journey through the immense area of his jurisdiction of the Northwest, and appealed for volunteers, Breck saw his opportunity and enlisted two others in the venture.

At the outset, then, in 1842, Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wisconsin, was set up as a community, under the rules of poverty, chastity and obedience. It thereby became one of the first establishments in the recovery of the monastic life in the Anglican Communion. *The Nashotah Liturgy*, originally written in long hand and printed below for the first time, contains the ordered prayer life of the original community.

The original MS was lost for over one hundred years. In 1957, in discarding an ancient safe, we noted that it had a removable card-board bottom. It was beneath this that we came upon several old letters, certain of the early records, and this historical *Nashotah Liturgy*. It would seem to be important as source material in a historical study of the restoration of Anglican monastic life.

* The Very Rev. Edward S. White, D.D., was President of Nashotah House and Dean of the Faculty from 1952 until his recent retirement. He now lives in Denver, Colorado.—*Editor's note*.

¹ See E. J. M. Nutter, "Breck, James Lloyd," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 3-4, and bibliography therein; also, Donald H. V. Hallock, "The Story of Nashotah," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, XI (1942), 3-17.

Breck's initial experiment in the monastic life failed, but neither Breck nor Nashotah House was a failure. The latter flourishes as a theological seminary, propagating Breck's uncompromising Church principles. Breck, in 1850, after eight years at Nashotah, moved on to Minnesota.² After initial success as a missionary to the Indians, he settled in Faribault, Minnesota, as dean of the Cathedral of our Merciful Saviour, and as founder of Seabury Divinity School (now Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois) and of Shattuck School, a famous preparatory school for boys.

For seventeen years, "The Apostle in the Wilderness" (Breck's epitaph) was an important factor in the Church's work in Minnesota. Ten of these years had been given to Faribault, "and he may justly be called the founder of the educational work."³ But the spirit of the pioneer was in him, and in 1867 he removed to California and settled at Benicia, not far from San Francisco. Here he set out to repeat the establishment of educational institutions, but time was lacking to enable him to complete an enduring foundation. He died, March 30, 1876—three months short of his fifty-eighth birthday—"prematurely worn out by his incessant toil."

² For Breck's work in Minnesota, see George C. Tanner, *Fifty Years of Church Work in the Diocese of Minnesota, 1857-1907* (St. Paul, 1909).

³ Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

*Office of Devotion
of the United Brethren of the religious house
established at
Nashotah W.T.*

* * *

The Brethren being assembled, let one of the Clergy begin the service by saying

Prevent, we beseech Thee, O Lord, all our doings with Thy most gracious inspirations, and further them with Thy continual help, that every prayer and work of ours' may begin always from Thee, and by Thee be happily ended, and more especially this service we are now entering upon, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Reader say

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Blessed be the Holy and Undivided Trinity, now, and forevermore. Amen.

Then shall be said this Confession, the Reader first saying,

Let us make with a pure heart and humble voice, our confession to Almighty God, devoutly saying:

Most Gracious God, the Fountain of all mercy, who desirest not the death of a sinner, nor despisest the tears of the penitent, we miserable sinners humbly prostrate our souls and bodies before Thy most adorable Majesty, and with a true and hearty sorrow, accuse and condemn ourselves. We confess, O Lord God, that we have grievously sinned against Thee in thought*, word*,

**Here let the Reader* and deed*, through our fault, through
pause. our great fault, through our exceeding great fault. But have thou mercy on us, O most Merciful Father, for Thy Son's sake, Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Advocate. Amen.

Then shall the Reader continue as followeth, all uniting in the responses and in the petition "O Holy," etc.

V. O God the Father, Creator of the World;

R. Have mercy on us.

V. O God the Son, Redeemer of mankind;

R. Have mercy on us.

V. O God the Holy Ghost, Perfecter of the Faithful;

R. Have mercy on us.

O Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, have mercy on us, and save us for Thy Name's sake. Amen.

Then shall the Reader say this prayer

Grant to us, Lord, we beseech Thee, pardon and peace, that we may be cleansed from all our sins, and serve Thee with a quiet mind, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall be said the Lord's Prayer. "Our Father, etc."

V. Our Help is in the Name of the Lord,

R. Who hath made Heaven and Earth.

V. Convert us O God our Savior,

R. And turn away Thine anger from us.

V. O God, make speed to save us.

R. O Lord make haste to help us.

V. Glory be to the Father etc.

R. As it was in the beginning, etc.

Then, all standing up, the Reader shall say,

INVITATORY

Come let us arise and go to our Father, let us turn to the Lord our God, that He may turn to us and bless us.

Come let us arise and go to our Father.

Then shall be said or sung,

VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS.

Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire

And lighten with celestial fire.

Thou the anointing Spirit, art,

Who dost Thy sevenfold gifts impart.

Thy blessed unction from above,

Is comfort, life, and fire of love:

Enable with perpetual light,

The dullness of our blinded sight:

Anoint and cheer our soiled face,
With the abundance of Thy grace :
Keep far our foes ; give peace at home ;
Where Thou art guide, no ill can come.
Teach us to Know the Father, Son,
And Thee, of both to be but One ;
That through the ages all along,
This may be our endless song ;
Praise to Thy Eternal Merit,
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen.

Then shall follow the Antiphon which may be said alternately with every verse of the psalm, or may be said only at the beginning and end of the Psalm, in which latter case, the Reader shall begin as follows:

Antiphon. Trust in the Lord.

Then this Psalm.

- V. The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon Him :
R. Yea all such as call upon Him, faithfully.
- V. He will fulfill the desire of them that fear Him :
R. He also will hear their cry and will help them.
- V. Them that are meek shall He guide in judgment :
R. And such as are gentle, them shall He learn His way.
- V. What man is He that feareth the Lord ?
R. Him shall He teach in the way that He shall choose.
- V. Put thy trust in the Lord and be doing good :
R. Dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.
- V. Delight thou in the Lord ;
R. And He shall give thee thy heart's desire.
- V. Commit thy way unto the Lord ;
R. Put thy trust in Him, and He will bring it to pass.
- V. I will look up unto the Lord, I will wait for the God of my salvation.
R. My God will hear me.
- V. O send out Thy light and Thy truth ;
R. That they may lead me.

- V. Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel,
R. And, after that, receive me with glory.
- V. I know that the way of man is not in himself.
R. It is not in man that walketh, to direct his steps.
- V. For Thou hast said, I will inform Thee and teach thee in the way wherein thou shalt go:
R. And I will guide thee with mine eye.
- V. Lead me, O Lord, in Thy righteousness, because of mine enemies.
R. Make Thy way plain before my face.
- V. Thou shalt make room enough under me for to go;
R. That my footsteps shall not slide.
- V. Hold thou still in the Lord;
R. And abide patiently upon Him.
- V. It is good for me to hold fast by God; to put my trust in the Lord God.
R. And to speak of all Thy works in the gates of the daughter of Zion.
- V. It is better to trust in the Lord:
R. Than to put any confidence in man.
- V. It is better to trust in the Lord:
R. Than to put any confidence in princes.
- V. Some put their trust in chariots, and some in horses:
R. But we will remember the Name of the Lord our God.
- V. It is the Lord's doing:
R. And it is marvellous in our eyes.
- V. If God be for us;
R. Who can be against us?
- V. Glory be to the Father &c.
R. As it was in the beginning &c.

Antiphon: *V. It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put any confidence in man.*

After which the Reader shall say,

Brethren listen to the first instruction.

Trust in the Lord with all thy heart, and lean not to thine own understanding. In all thy ways think upon Him, and He will direct thy paths. Be not wise in thine own conceit and depart from evil. Seek not the things that are too high for thee, nor search into those above thy strength, but the things that God hath commanded thee, that do thou; and in many of His ways be not thou curious, since it is not necessary for thee to see with thine eyes those things that are hidden. Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the Most High, and it shall profit thee more than gold. Give to the Highest, according to what He has given thee, and with a good eye, give according to the ability of thy hands, for the Lord is thy Rewarder, and He will repay thee seven times as much. When a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him. The heart of man deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps. He that is patient is better than he that is strong, and He that rules his own mind, than he who conquers cities. There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord.

Here all rising, two of the lay-brethren, Candidates for Holy Orders, if any be present, in succession shall make the first and second responses, all joining in the third.

First Response. Well may we give Thee, O Lord, some part of what we have, since we receive from Thee, all we have; well may we give with gladness to Thee, since Thy bounty rewards us with so great advantage.

Second Response. O make us still mistrust ourselves, and with humble confidence rely on Thee. Without Thy blessing our labor is vain; and against Thy decrees no policy can succeed; but if we humbly submit to Thee, Thou wilt direct us; if we keep Thy commandments, Thou wilt defend us.

Third Response. O make us still mistrust ourselves, and with humble confidence rely on Thee.

Then shall the Reader say:

Brethren, listen to the second instruction.

When thou comest to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation; cleave unto Him, and depart not away that thou mayst be increased at thy last end. Whatever is brought upon thee, take cheer-

fully; and be patient, when thou art brought to a low estate, for gold is tried in the fire, and acceptable men in the furnace of adversity. Believe in God and He will help thee; order thy way aright and trust in Him. Wo to the fearful hearts and faint hands and the sinner that goeth two ways. Wo to them that are fainthearted, who believe not God, and therefore shall not be defended.

First Response. Teach us, O Gracious Lord, to begin our work with fear, and to go on with obedience, and finish them with love; and, after all, to sit humbly down in Hope, and with a cheerful countenance look up to Thee.

Second Response. Whose promises are faithful, and whose rewards infinite: all this we may do for men and yet they fail us: we may serve and they forget our service; we may love, and they neglect our affections: only Thou, whom we in no way can benefit, dost in every way oblige us O Lord our God.

Third Response. Whose promises are faithful and whose rewards infinite.

Then shall the Reader say:

Listen, Brethren, to the Lesson, selected from the tenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

"These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying: provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey; neither two coats, neither shoes, not yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat. Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord; it is enough for the disciple to be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household. Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but rather fear Him, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing, and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven. Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to

send peace but a sword. He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it."

First Response. Blessed, O our God, be Thy goodness forever, which so plentifully furnishes us with rules of conduct, and so safely guides all who choose to be led by Thee.

Second Response. As Thou wilt show us the way, so O Lord, give us strength to walk in it, and grant to us, O Lord, grant to us in the end eternal rest. Thou art our example, who wast faithful to Him who appointed Thee; as Moses also was faithful, and therefore—

Third Response. Show us Thy way, O Lord, and give us strength to walk in it.

V. Glory be to the father &c.

R. As it was in the beginning &c.

Then shall the Reader commence this LITANY saying

Let us pray

V. Lord, have mercy upon us!

R. Christ have mercy upon us!

V. Lord, Have mercy upon us!

V. O God, who hath prepared a glorious inheritance for those who love Thee and keep Thy commandments, who art Thyself that glorious inheritance and the end and expectation of all our labors,

R. Have mercy upon us.

V. O God, the only rest of wearied souls, the only joy of time and eternity, who art all that we can desire,

R. Have mercy upon us.

V. From all manner of evil but especially from sin, and from the particular temptations, to which by time place or temper we are most exposed,

R. Deliver us, O Lord.

V. In all our doubts, in all our necessities, throughout our lives and at the hour of our death,

R. Deliver us, O Lord.

V. We sinners beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord God, and that it may please Thee in all our dangers trials and temptations to strengthen and assist us.

R. We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

V. That seeing our daily imperfections, we may quicken our diligence, humble our thoughts, and learn to depend wholly on Thee,

R. We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

V. That believing Thou governest the world by Thy providence, we may humbly and thankfully accept of any condition of life Thou assignest us therein, and not murmur at the part Thou givest us to act, but strive to act it well.

R. We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

V. That we may religiously observe the rules and duties of our several stations and contentedly submit to the meanest works of our condition;

R. We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

V. That we may live in peace and charity with all the world, and especially since it hath pleased Thee to unite us in one family, that we may patiently forbear, freely forgive, and readily assist one another.

R. We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord.

V. Son of God, we beseech Thee to hear us.

R. Son of God, we beseech Thee to hear us.

V. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

R. Grant us Thy peace.

V. O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world,

R. Have mercy upon us.

Let us pray

God

who grants the prayers of His servants one for another to remember for good all whom we should remember in our prayers; those who have ministered to us of their labor, their wealth, their good countenance, their prayers, whether young or old, male or female, clergy or laity, whether known to us or unknown; all who have a claim on us from benefits conferred in aiding us to establish this house, to the glory of God's great name.

O Merciful Lord, make them a plentiful recompense for the good they have conveyed to us—pour out upon all, Thy rich pity, to all performing their requests for salvation; and since we cannot make mention of each of them through ignorance, forgetfulness, or number of names, remember Thou them O God, who knowest the stature and appellation of each and every degree of their several necessity—continue to us their good will, and in the multitude of Thy pity, remember them and us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Furthermore we commend to Thy favor, O God, the endeavors here made by Thy unworthy servants to extend the Kingdom of Thy dear Son upon earth. Confirm and promote its usefulness (Replenish with the truth of Thy doctrine the clergy here collected, and endue them with innocency of life) Visit with Thy love and favor all the members of this household, increasing in them true religion, and nourishing them with all goodness. Enlighten the minds of the people more and more with the light of the everlasting Gospel, and according to Thy infinite wisdom, O God, prepare occasions of doing good and give us grace to make use of them. Enlarge in Thine own time and way Thy manifold gifts to us, both temporal and spiritual. Send forth laborers into this Thy harvest, and whoever plants, whoever waters, strengthen their faith in Thee, who alone canst give the increase, O gracious Lord of the Harvest, our Savior Jesus Christ. Amen.

- V. Bless O Lord, Thy spouse the Holy Catholic Church;
R. And evermore mightily defend her.
- V. Deliver her from strange doctrines, heresies and schisms;
R. And bless her with truth, unity, and concord.
- V. Deliver her when she is in danger;
R. And restore her when she is laid waste.
- V. Bring back those that have wandered from her fold;
R. And may all the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ.

V. Let us pray.

O Eternal God who hast vouchsafed to receive us into the Ark of Christ's Church, we render Thee most humble thanks for Thy great goodness, whereby alone we enjoy the comfort of a firm

and settled belief, free from the inconstancy of those, who, having no support but their own fancies, float up and down awhile, and sink at last into the gulf of infidelity. Make us duly sensible of this Thy mercy, that as we know Thee by a sure faith, we may love Thee with a perfect charity, and fixing our hopes on Heaven and Heavenly things, may patiently suffer what Thou permittest here, and still press on to what Thou promisest thereafter, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty and most merciful Father, give us, we beseech Thee, that Grace, that we may duly examine the inmost of our hearts and our most secret thoughts, how we stand before thee, that we may persevere in all good purposes and in Thy holy service unto our life's end. Lord, Thou knowest what is best for us according to Thy will. Give us, we beseech Thee, what Thou wilt, as much as Thou wilt, and when Thou wilt. Lo! we are Thy servants, ready to do all things Thou commandest us, for we desire not to live unto ourselves but unto Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

V. O Lord, hear our prayer.

R. And let our cry now come unto Thee.

V. Do good, in Thy good pleasure, unto Sion.

R. And build Thou the walls of Jerusalem.

V. Give to all Thy faithful eternal rest!

R. And enlighten them when they sit in darkness.

Let us pray.

O Almighty God, who hast knit together Thine elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of Thy Son, Christ our Lord, grant us grace so to follow Thy blessed Saints in all virtuous and godly living, that we may come to those unspeakable joys which Thou hast prepared for those who unfeignedly love Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

V. Bless we our God.

R. Thanks be to God.

V. Praised be the Lord, who hath helped us.

R. The God who hath poured out his benefits upon us.

V. He hath brought us to great honor,

R. And comforted us on every side.

V. Lord, Thou hast made us glad through Thy works,
*R. And we will rejoice in giving praise for the operations
of Thy hands.*

V. May the divine assistance remain with us forever.
R. Amen.

*Then shall follow the blessing, if a Priest be present. In case
no Priest is present, the Service shall conclude with the previous
versicle and response and a silent prayer.*

THE BLESSING

Priest. The Blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the
Holy Ghost, descend and remain in our hearts forever.

R. Amen.

Let the Office conclude with a short prayer said silently.

Concerning the Financial Support of The Church, 1066-1960

By G. MacLaren Brydon*

IT is very interesting to note the various methods by which, as time has passed, the people of the Church have undertaken to support their Church and its work. One may go back for a starting point, based on provable records, to the time of the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. When the Norman conquerors gained possession of the land, they divided it among their own people, leaving the earlier Anglo-Saxon population in the position of serfs and servants.

I. Methods of Financial Support of the Parish

One knows little about the financial organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church prior to 1066 beyond the fact that, at the beginning, each of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, as it was converted to the Christian religion, became a diocese with its own bishop. The seven kingdoms were brought to their birth as a national Church at the Council of Whitby, in the year 664. It would seem to be beyond question that the Church was supported by the state.

As the Normans spread over England, each Norman owner of an estate took possession of any church erected thereon, or else erected a church of his own. As the owner of the land, he selected the priest to take charge of it, and fixed the tithes to be paid by the tenants and householders upon the estate for the support of their church. This became the rule throughout England, and continued down into the present century as approved and supported by parliamentary law.

As there was no legal standard or law upon the subject, there never grew up any ecclesiastical ruling or canon fixing a definite standard of salary for the rector or priest who held such a parochial charge. It resulted, as time passed, in the deplorable situation that the salaries of some parishes might be larger than was necessary for the comfortable

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support of a clergyman, while other parishes paid salaries utterly inadequate for the support of the minister. The matter became in time so serious that Queen Anne, who died in 1714, established out of her private fortune, a Fund named "Queen Anne's Bounty," for the purpose of increasing the endowment of very weak parishes so as to enable them to pay larger salaries. A report of the situation existing in 1714 showed that there were over five thousand parishes in England paying annual salaries of less than eighty pounds, and several hundred paying ten pounds or less.¹

When the Church was brought to Virginia by the first permanent settlers, the General Assembly, as representing the landowners of the colony, enacted laws creating a group of parishes, having definite geographical bounds, covering the whole extent of territory in which English settlers lived. It also set a definite salary to be paid by the people of each parish to their incumbent minister. Another law created the Parish Vestry. This was to be elected by the landowners of the parish, and so became a committee of landowners representing all the land-area of the parish. This vestry was given the power it still has, to hold possession of all the real estate owned by the parish, erect church buildings, purchase a glebe farm, and erect the necessary buildings for the residence of the minister of the parish; and to elect the rector or other ordained minister serving in the parish.

The cost of the necessary buildings and their upkeep, plus the amount fixed by the General Assembly as the salary of an incumbent minister, was to be assessed by the vestry upon the inhabitants of the parish. This was the form of taxation for the support of the Church that was established by the colonial government; and it remained the law of the colony until all taxes for the support of religion were repealed by the General Assembly during the American Revolution.

An interesting sidelight upon the attitude of the General Assembly towards religion appears in a report concerning the salaries of incumbent ministers made to the House of Burgesses in 1695. The statement was made that the amount of salary established by law was to be large enough to enable the minister to "maintain the moderate establishment of a gentleman." It is safe to state that there were many hundreds of

¹ The Fund, called "Queen Anne's Bounty," rendered a notable service to the Church of England during the years of its existence, in increasing the endowments of the weakest parishes, so as to enable the payment of higher salaries to the incumbent ministers. It had amassed a capital fund of \$70,000,000.00, when in recent years it was merged with funds of "The Church Commissioners for England." This statement is taken from a report of the closing of the Queen Anne's Bounty; a copy of which has been placed in the Virginia Diocesan Library.

parishes in England in which the support of an incumbent minister was less than the provision made in Virginia.

And it is indeed a notable thing, and well worth recording, that the laws enacted by the General Assembly of Virginia established and maintained a far greater measure of freedom of a parish to own its property, manage its temporal affairs, and elect its own rector than was possible in the Church of England in England. And this freedom won by the people of Virginia for their own Church became the rule of the whole Protestant Episcopal Church when organized after the American Revolution; with the added right then affirmed and enforced, that the laity of a diocese have their own full part in the election of their bishop; and in the making of all canon law.

The American Revolution and the organization of the Commonwealth of Virginia abolished for all time the raising of money by taxation for the support of religion. The salary of the rector, the upkeep of church property, and the erection of church buildings was then placed upon the basis of free gifts and contributions of individual members of the Church; where it has remained ever since. As times became more normal after the period of revolution and organization of civil and national life, the custom of asking the gifts and pledges of the landowners and families belonging to the parish became the general rule of the Episcopal and all other congregations as the normal method of supporting religion.

II. Methods of Giving in the Episcopal Church

It is a noteworthy fact, of which we have lost sight today, that from the First Prayer Book of 1549 of the Church of England, down to the present, no provision is made for any general offering or collection of money at a church service except in the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion. The rubric which governs that matter directs:

"While these sentences are in reading the deacons, churchwardens or other fit persons appointed for that purpose shall receive the alms for the poor, and other devotions of the people, in a decent bason to be provided by the Parish for that purpose, and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the Holy Table."

The same rubric appears in the first American Prayer Book of 1789.

The idea of receiving offerings in Church services for the support of the parish and salary of the minister was an absolutely unheard of thing

in the Church in Virginia down as late as the War Between the States. The invariable custom was for the vestry to ask and receive pledges from the heads of families in the congregation, which pledges were to be paid directly to the treasurer of the parish in quarterly payments or as desired by the contributor. Under this rule, it grew to be the practically universal custom for the rector to receive his salary in quarterly payments. As late as 1914, all salaries or appropriations toward salaries granted by the Diocesan Missionary Society were thus paid.

It was a very slow process whereby the change to the present general custom of payment of Church pledges by weekly envelopes placed in the offering plates in church came into effect. There was at first widespread opposition, and down until the War period, 1861-65, the diocese in its printed form for parochial reports carefully excluded any request for information about payment of regular operating expenses of the parish. That was considered payment of legal debts and not religious offerings. Bishop George W. Peterkin, of the diocese of West Virginia from 1878 to 1916, widely known and greatly loved, fought to the last against the new method.

"You make your pledges to the vestry," he said, "for the payment of the rector's salary and other parish expenses; then you place your weekly payments in the alms bason in Church; and you sing 'All things come of thee, O Lord, and of thine own have we given thee'; And actually you have not given it to the Lord at all, but paid it as part of the legal debt you incurred by contracting with your rector to pay him a regular salary."²

It is an exceedingly interesting fact that the custom of weekly offerings at Church services for the support of the parish seems to have first come into the life of the Church in Virginia under pressure of war conditions; and was due in great measure to the collapse in purchasing power of the Confederate paper money.

It came into use in Emmanuel Church at Brook Hill, near Richmond, as the result of the following resolution of the vestry, adopted on October 12, 1863:

² The first Prayer Book of the American Episcopal Church, issued in 1789, carried exactly the same rubric governing this matter as the Prayer Book of the Church of England. But in the first revision of the American Prayer Book, in 1892, the following note was added to that rubric: "And note that these Sentences may be used on any other Occasion of Public Worship, when the alms of the people are to be received." A further and very significant change was made in this rubric in the revision of the American Prayer Book issued in 1929, by adding after the word "Alms for the Poor," "and other Offerings of the People." This final revision thereby makes official provision that the weekly envelopes of payment of pledges for the support of the parish may be presented in a Church service, and placed upon the Holy Table, as "offerings" and not "Alms."

"The necessity of providing fuel for the Church was brought before the meeting; when it was determined that a collection would be taken up during divine service, to defray this and other necessary expenses of the Church."

The custom so introduced continued through the rest of the war period. At a meeting of vestry held on April 30, 1866, a resolution was adopted, "That a weekly collection in this congregation be continued, and the sum so raised be placed at the absolute disposal of the rector." There is no explanatory material in these meetings to show what the purpose of the vestry was in adopting these two resolutions, so the reason is left to be solved as far as possible by the known facts of that day and time. There is some evidence available from another source: it was about this time that the Rev. Churchill J. Gibson, the elder, rector of Grace Church, Petersburg, had reported to the diocesan council in a very apologetic way that he had determined to adopt the modern custom of taking a collection in church at the Sunday service.

Perhaps one can see in the wide adoption of this custom a picture of the financial conditions of the war period. The Southern Confederacy had been compelled to issue its paper currency with no real security or collateral back of it to guarantee its payment. Inevitably, its purchasing value went steadily downward, and prices of all the necessities of life went steadily upward. People who could make no definite pledges to the Church for current expenses would be able without making any pledge to give from Sunday to Sunday such cash as might be available.

There was also a strong possibility that members of the congregation were becoming desirous of making such contribution as they could to the upkeep and expenses of the Church which they attended. It must be remembered that up to this time the full salary of the rector of Emmanuel Church, and the cost of upkeep of the church property, had been paid by the two brothers, John Stewart and Daniel Kerr Stewart. Perhaps, and quite probably, members of the growing congregation were asking for the privilege of paying some part of the operating expenses of the congregation.

Perhaps it was for this reason that the vestry in its resolution of April 30, 1866, directed that the regular weekly offerings made at divine service be given to the Rev. Dr. Cornelius Walker, the rector, to be used for such purpose as he saw fit. In this way, money given by the congregation went directly to the rector, to be used either as an augmentation of his salary or as a fund for helping needy persons. Either way, it was an expression of gratitude and appreciation to their rector.

But the rector himself seems to have seen in this resolution of the vestry that the time had come for the congregation to be given the opportunity of taking some definite part, as a vestry and congregation, in paying the salary of the rector. Dr. Walker himself had already resigned the rectorship, as of August 31, 1866, in order to return to his own old congregation in Alexandria; but he had promised to continue holding occasional services at Emmanuel until a new rector could be secured. He held service at Emmanuel Church on November 18, 1866, and, as reported to a vestry meeting the following day, "he aroused the congregation to action, and secured pledges for the support of a rector," amounting to \$1,010.00.

From this first step toward self-support, the congregation went on from strength to strength, taking an ever increasing part in support of their own work until in the end it became, and has continued ever since, to be a self-supporting congregation.

III. The Church Envelope Movement

It was in development of this method of giving through weekly collections in the Church services, that on Easter Monday in 1872, the newly elected vestry adopted a resolution directing the treasurer of the church to secure collection envelopes, and to have them printed with the name of the church and placed in the pews for the use of the congregation. So began the new-fashioned "envelope system" of weekly giving to the Church. Emmanuel Church was not alone in adopting this envelope method. It was being widely adopted all over the country and in many denominations. It continued to grow in favor, and became the method in common use for forty years.

A new movement in Church financing came into the life of practically all the Protestant Churches and denominations in 1911-12. This was called the Laymen's Forward Movement, and was developed by interdenominational committees in the different states. One of the fundamental purposes of the movement was to increase the general interest of every Church in its foreign missionary work, and to place the giving of the Christian to missions upon an equal basis with his giving to the support of his own congregation.

Two new results were brought out and put generally into effect. One was the use of a new kind of church envelope containing two compartments, one for the support of the parish or congregation, and the other for missions. This was called "The Duplex Envelope," and is now in almost universal use. The other new plan was to make the duty

of visiting and soliciting all the members of the congregation for pledges the duty of the whole congregation, under the leadership of rector and vestry, and not merely that of the vestry acting as a committee. Under this new plan, the custom grew up of having meetings of the congregation with addresses upon various parts of the work of the Church, parochial, diocesan and foreign, after which preparation representatives of both vestry and congregation should visit all the members in order to ask and receive the personal pledges of all.

The minute book of the vestry of Emmanuel Church gives in the minutes of its meetings an interesting picture of the method of presenting the new method to the people of a congregation:

"January 1, 1911, Mr. T. Crawford Redd, the Senior Warden, and Mr. J. Stewart Bryan, the Treasurer, reported the matter, and the meeting discussed ways and means for raising money for the expenses and the various offerings for this and the coming years. It was suggested that we have some set system of giving, and it was thought best that the question be presented to the congregation at a meeting to be called in the near future."

On January 16, 1911, a very complete statement was given by Mr. J. Stewart Bryan, of the expense of the church and other disbursements amounting to \$9,350.00. A plan was presented by Mr. Bryan for the collection of funds for this and ensuing years. It was determined to send a letter to the members in the form of a pledge, asking the amounts that each cared to give. Mr. Bryan, Mr. Redd, and Mr. August Mordecai were appointed a committee to attend to this matter.

February 27, 1911. The chief object of this meeting, as stated by Mr. Bryan, was to discuss and arrive at some way to bring more forcibly to this congregation the matter of the new contribution system we are trying to adopt. Mr. Bryan reported that only thirteen of the pledge cards sent out by the committee with the recent letter on the subject had been returned.

After some discussion, it was decided that the Rev. Ernest E. Osgood, the rector, call a body of men to make a personal canvass of the members of the congregation. Mr. Osgood called the meeting for Friday, March 3rd.

May 1, 1911. At a meeting of the vestry held on this date Mr. Bryan reported that from what he could see, the envelope system would be a success.

At the Diocesan Council meeting of May, 1911, this new plan was approved, and, as part of it, an apportionment plan, whereby a central committee was appointed to prepare a list of objects outside the parish

to which the people would be asked to pledge their gifts and set an amount to be raised for each one. The committee, after making such a list, would divide up the total and apportion to every parish and congregation, big and little, a proportionate share, based on the financial ability of each one, as far as possible.

It will be interesting to examine the following list of objects to which the Diocese of Virginia asked its people to give in the year 1912-13. A total amount of \$39,250.00 was adopted for apportionment to parishes and congregations throughout the diocese, divided as follows:

		<i>Apportioned to Emmanuel Church</i>
For Diocesan Missions	\$18,000	\$ 924.00
For Diocesan Bible and Prayer- book Soc.	250	15.00
For Disabled Clergy Fund	2,000	120.00
For Widows and Orphans Fund	2,000	120.00
For Education Society of Virginia	1,000	60.00
For Domestic and Foreign Missions	15,250	800.00
For General Clergy Relief Fund	750	45.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$39,250	\$2,084.00

This apportionment plan was received with general approval by the parishes and congregations all over the diocese. It proposed an annual campaign in every parish, and a visitation of parishioners by parishioners. This served generally to strengthen the corporate life of the parish, and strengthened the recognition and acceptance of the fact that the diocese is the body to which all the parishes and Church people belong as the one great unit in corporate life of the whole national Church.

And the steady presentation in the diocesan papers of the various objects in which the diocese as a whole was interested served to impress all our Church people; while the continually growing use of the duplex envelope, with its gift every week for missionary objects, served to impress the people all the more strongly. As a direct result of this success of the new method, the diocese went ahead constantly in increasing numbers and growing financial strength; and also into a steadily larger share in the missionary work of the whole Episcopal Church at home and abroad.

IV. The Church Pension Fund

The new method of apportionment and the use of duplex envelopes was spreading all over the country into other dioceses at the same time when it was being established in Virginia, and it brought strengthening

of life wherever it was established. There were two very remarkable results of this movement.

The first was the realization of the great weakness and inefficiency of all plans in existence for the care of aged and retired clergymen and their families; and the lack of any real method of help for clergymen who, by disease or accident, were forced to give up active work, and thus were thrown upon the mercies of a heedless world. Out of this realization grew the plan for the Church Pension Fund which, by the inspired wisdom of its leaders, and by the blessing of God, has become one of the greatest and most important agencies in the life of the Episcopal Church today. After years of preliminary study of conditions and needs, a sound plan for retirement pay insurance was developed, which has stood triumphantly the problems and uncertainties and dangers of over forty years, and is today strongly entrenched in the life of the Church.

The basic plan, as then developed, was that pensions for retired clergy can only be assured by a form of insurance requiring, as a normal rule, the payment of forty annual pension premiums by every parish or other Church agency employing an ordained clergyman. The plan required that at least five million dollars should be given by the people of the Church to cover the previous annual premiums of clergymen who had been already ordained, dating in every case from date of ordination: and further, that every diocese in the Episcopal Church should make a definite contract with the Church Pension Fund that Pension Fund assessments would be paid every year for every clergyman in active work.

This plan was presented to the Church in 1913, and the people were asked to give the required five million dollars. The people actually gave about eight million dollars. The dioceses were then asked to make the necessary contracts with the Church Pension Fund corporation, and all the dioceses made the contracts. As a result, the Church Pension Fund went into active operation on March 1, 1917, and has been growing in both strength and favor ever since.³

³ The Church should never forget the two men above all others to whom, under God, the success of the Church Pension Fund was due. One was Mr. Monell Sayre, an insurance expert, who conceived and worked out the plans which have proven so successful. The other was the Right Reverend William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, to whose power of leadership and ability of organization was due the giving of so great an amount by the people of the Church.

After the success achieved by the Episcopal Church in establishing its pension system, Mr. Sayre was called upon by the authorities of other Churches in America, and by the authorities of the Church of England, to aid in the organization of similar systems.

V. The Nation-Wide Campaign of 1919-22

The second outcome of the new financial organization of the Church was a general demand throughout the whole Episcopal Church for a real and noteworthy step forward in the work of the Church, both in the mission fields, domestic and foreign, and also in the dioceses. At the root, this demand was for greater efficiency in diocesan and parish organizations, in order to reach and minister to larger numbers of people, and so produce a greater field in which to preach the creative power of the Word of God.

Out of this vision of greater and more efficient service grew the movement called the Nation-Wide campaign, of 1919-22. After much thinking and planning, the general plan was adopted and put into effect throughout the whole Church by the General Convention of 1919.

The details of the proposed campaign required that in every missionary field of the Episcopal Church, and in every missionary district, and in every diocese, groups of representative laymen should, after careful study of local needs and opportunities of expansion and growth, prepare a comprehensive statement of the physical needs of its own diocese and of every parish field; listing the new church buildings that should be erected, the rectories and parish houses that should be built; and plans to start work at important new points; and the various kinds of equipment that would be needed for great efficiency.

A profound and widespread interest was aroused, and these groups in practically every diocese gave careful and wise thought to their opportunities and needs. Out of these reports from the committees as they were put together and studied by a great central nation-wide commission, was developed the plan for the Nation-Wide Campaign. This campaign was planned to arouse the Church in every diocese and in every parish; to raise, in a movement of general appeal, the money that would be required to secure the buildings and equipment needed in every field.

As an integral part of the general plan, each diocese was to be given the opportunity of going beyond its established forms of missionary and other work and to establish, if it so desired, entirely new fields of Christian endeavour. As for instance, in the Diocese of Virginia, where plans were formulated for advance work in the mountain mission field, the archdeaconry of the Colored Work, and the strengthening of rural fields; and an entirely new field to be entered, by establishing a system of secondary boarding and day schools, to meet the needs of the whole diocese.

The General Church Nation-Wide Commission then allocated to each diocese the proportionate amount which that diocese would be asked to raise for the work of the general Church, and to this allocation the diocesan committee added the amount it had approved and recommended for local parish and diocesan needs and opportunities. This total amount was then divided up in apportionments to all the parishes and congregations large and small throughout the diocese.

The Diocese of Virginia in the preceding year had taken a long step forward in organization by the establishment of a diocesan office with a diocesan treasurer in charge, to assemble the financial affairs of all the several diocesan boards and committees into one coordinated whole. Thus organized for greater diocesan efficiency, the diocese was well equipped for leadership in the Nation-Wide Campaign.

In the final outcome, the Nation-Wide Campaign proved to be a great success throughout the whole Church. It brought strengthened life and new vision and hope into every mission field of the Church, both at home and abroad. In the Diocese of Virginia, it proved to be a notable success in every phase of our work. The plan, as put into effect, set a definite goal to be raised in three years, under the regular and well established plan of an annual every-member canvass. In the three-year period, the people of the diocese gave a total of \$757,364.35, of which \$270,000.00 went as Virginia's gift to the work of the General Church. The remainder, \$487,364.37, was spent within the diocese. \$170,000 was used to start the diocesan system of Church schools, and nearly all of the remainder was spent in the erection of churches, rectories and parish houses, in rural and other fields.

VI. The Proportionate Giving Plan

Out of the great growth in numbers and new classifications and conceptions of the Church's work, has been born also a new plan of giving the financial means of its support. From the first beginnings in America, as need appeared for parishioners to provide the amount required for the salary of the minister and the erection and maintenance of a church building, down to present day, the custom has been general to prepare an estimated budget to include all the expenses and obligations of the parish. The fact of having such a statement of needs to present to the people made it possible for every family or individual in the congregation to figure out the amount he should give to enable the parish to secure the full amount it needed during each year. Certainly it was found that, by presentation of annual budgets, financial security

was obtained and the life of the parish or congregation was strengthened.

But a new Voice has been speaking within the hearing of Christian people. It expresses a great objection to the idea of a parish budget, on the ground that the people of the congregation are being asked to give in order to secure a fixed amount of money to cover definitely stated needs. The objection, as it often appears, is that in an average congregation with a comparatively few people of large income, and a much larger number of people of lesser income, or of practically no income beyond what will cover inescapable family needs, the members having the largest income may give so much as to remove from members of lesser financial resources the need of giving as much as they would otherwise willingly give. Or, *vice versa*, the members of greater financial ability give out of their superabundance, while the others give out of income that might well be spent entirely for daily family needs.

So the Voice suggested the seeking of a better way through which people may give more in proportion to their ability to give, rather than to meet simply a definitely fixed parish obligation. This is briefly called "proportionate giving." It harks back to the command laid upon the people of Israel under the Mosaic Law, that every man should give one tenth of the yield of his crops and herds to the Lord. As this rule of "tithing" has come into the Christian Church, the statement is properly made that among the Jews this tenth included taxes for the support of the royal government as well as the Temple, and the whole support of a Levitical tribe to attend to the duties of sacrifice and worship. Whether or not this is actually a sufficient objection, the fact is true that, for many generations past in the life of our country, vast numbers of Christians of many churches and denominations have practiced "tithing" in their giving to their churches, and have found it good. As men see it today, the principal is good because it means a proportionate giving to God of every man's income. The setting of ten percent is not part of the rule. The suggestion was frequently made during the Nation-Wide Campaign in Virginia in 1919, that, whenever possible, Christians might try to obey the rule, giving five percent or one half of a fixed ten percentage to the Church, and the other half to the charitable, benevolent, and cultural needs of the community.

The general plan of the rule of Proportionate Giving, as applied to a parish or congregation, is that the vestry call the regular annual meeting of the congregation, and make the regular reports of the life and work of the parish, but present no proposed budget of expenses for the new year. Every income-receiving member of the congregation will be

asked to make, as his pledge for the new year, a definite percentage of his estimated income.

This has already been done in the past two years in a large number of parishes in some dioceses, with very striking results of increased giving in many cases. Then, as a second step in the plan, the diocese is not to present any budget to the diocesan council or convention, but will leave to each parish and congregation the duty of pledging to the diocese a definite proportion, or percentage, of the amount pledged by the parishioners in the parish canvass. The diocese will make no estimate of what it needs. The vestries and people of the diocese know that money must be provided for salaries of bishops and clerical heads of departments, for aid to salaries of clergymen in missionary and weak parishes, and for all the promotional and extensional work of the diocese. Every congregation will have its every member canvass in December. The vestries will report to the diocesan authorities at once what percentage of its income it will send to the diocese, and the Diocese will learn at its diocesan convention the amount it can count on to carry on its work and pay its salaries. It is based from beginning to end upon faith: faith in God, and faith in the people of the Church.

As the plan proves to be successful, the whole giving of a diocese and its people will be lifted to a higher spiritual level, and in full keeping with the Christian ideal of dedication of the whole life to God.

The Beginnings of the Graduate School of Theology of the University of the South

By Royden Keith Yerkes*

Introduction

By Arthur Ben Chitty†

IN 1937, the first session of the Graduate School of Theology of the University of the South was opened at Sewanee, Tennessee. The Rev. Dr. Royden Keith Yerkes, then a new member of the Sewanee faculty, was listed as "Director." World War II almost finished it, but in 1946 it was resumed. In 1960, the twentieth session was held. It seemed an appropriate time to survey the background of summer theological study, and to ask Dr. Yerkes to write a personal memoir, which he has most graciously done.

Parenthetically, it might be noted that the first summer lectures in theology appeared in the catalogue of the University of the South in 1888, with the Rt. Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson (1830-1902), of Mississippi, offering a course in ecclesiastical history. The following year there were three on the summer faculty: Bishop Alfred A. Watson (1818-1905), of East Carolina; the Rev. John J. Elmendorf, of Racine; and the Rev. J. S. Kedney, of Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minnesota. After 1892, the summer session disappeared from the catalogue.

For three years (1904-06), a similar summer term was offered at Sewanee, with enrollments of 11, 27, and 30, plus auditors. The roster was decorated with such names as those of Bishop Theodore DuBose Bratton, of Mississippi; and of future Bishops William Mercer Green, II, of Mississippi; Henry Judah Mikell, of Atlanta; Edwin Anderson Penick, of North Carolina; Frederick Focke Reese, of Georgia; and Albert Sidney Thomas, of South Carolina.

Today, the dynamic director of the GST is the Rev. Dr. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., one of the Church's outstanding liturgiologists. The enrollment has swelled past three score and ten. The demand for housing of the students, nearly all of them with families, is such that regular resi-

* The Rev. Dr. Yerkes is retired from the active ministry after a distinguished career, especially in theological education.—*Editor's note.*

† Mr. Chitty is historiographer of the University of the South.—*Editor's note.*

dents of the University campus are coerced to arrange their summer vacations—or indeed to take unintended ones—in order to sublet their homes to GST enrollees. With the increasing tendency of vestries to offer vacation-with-expenses to their rectors, and with the popularity of the mountaintop atmosphere among clergy families, there seems to be no ceiling to the growth of the school.

In the 1937 session, the first matriculant was Henry Irving Louttit, now Bishop of South Florida. Among his fourteen classmates were Francis C. Lightbourn, literary editor of *The Living Church*, and George Moyer Alexander, present dean of the Sewanee's School of Theology. The sincerest flattery has come from Nashotah which, in 1960, became the only other place in the Episcopal Church where the ordained clergyman could, in a "long month's vacation," work toward an advanced degree. In the two decades of the existence of the Sewanee GST, students have come from more than a hundred colleges and universities, from every Episcopal theological seminary, and from nearly every diocese and missionary district. Father Yerkes' idea is past the stage of the lusty infant. The GST is nearly ready to vote.

Here is Dr. Yerkes' recollection of how it all started.

Dr. Yerke's Account

19 April 1960

Dear Mr. Chitty:

Thank you for your letter. One of the greatest delights of an old man is to be told that his children are making good. I have to apologize at the beginning of any long letter for the simple reason that I am still carrying an eight-hour work day; my incipient longevity has become chronic and has made serious inroads upon my "leisure time"—the only time I have for correspondence.

You have asked two questions, either of which would take a long letter to be answered fully: (1) The underlying philosophy which impelled me to start a graduate school of theology; and (2) some interesting notes of the circumstances attending the beginning of the school. The two questions are interlocked: the first is of general principles, and the second concerns the application of those principles to a specific circumstance.

The basic philosophy expressed in establishing a graduate school of theology was that of my whole life work. This was the result of the influence of three men upon me. The first was my father, who, when I was a boy of ten, said to me in a quiet tone I have never forgotten,

"Son, I am a bigger man than my father. If you do not become a bigger man than I am, I shall have lived in vain."

The second was a marvelous teacher who guided my grammar school work for five years. He was a Pennsylvania Dutchman who had a Ph.D. in philosophy, and who regarded children as very young men and women. He insisted that truth in any field could not contradict truth in any other field. His small pupil had said that he wanted to be a teacher, possibly a "teacher of the Bible," and was amazed to learn that the Bible had not been written in English. One could not understand it without the knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, in which it had been written, and of Latin in which it had been preserved in the West for a thousand years. One must also be acquainted with such subjects as history, mathematics, chemistry and physics, in order to understand the relation of the Bible to human affairs. I took him seriously and blindly commenced a long pursuit of knowledge because I had faith in him. I must know the tradition to which I was to make my contribution.

The third was Morris Jastrow, my mentor in the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania fifty years ago. In the preface to his first book he had written, "The only reason for writing a book on any subject is to contribute toward making the next book on the same subject more valuable."

The influence of these three men fixed a resolution to become a teacher and make a contribution to the long tradition which makes us human beings with the power of knowledge and of choices and of decisions. This is as necessary in the field of theology as in the fields of the physical sciences. Because theology has to do with the relation of "the things that are unseen and eternal" to the "things which are seen and temporal," theology was early recognized as the "queen of sciences"; the word "science" meant knowledge.

The cult of individualism in the last four hundred years has reduced the word "religion" to a collection of opinions without reference to knowledge or tradition. In the United States, the right to hold and assert any opinion one pleases is protected by the Constitution so long as it does not conflict with what the State happens to want. The State is recognized as superior to any Church. The result has been the rise of a multitude of Christianities whose only common factor seems to be the use of the words *God*, *Jesus*, *Bible*, *Church* and *Worship*. Each of these words has acquired so many different connotations that the result has been confusing. The condition is accentuated by the modern assumption that "one man's opinion is as good as another's," whether he knows any-

thing about the subject or not. The word "science" has been limited to the knowledge of physical things and of their relation to one another. The word "theology" has been reduced either to the promulgation and defence of opinions (called preaching), or to a confused endeavour to find a least common multiple of all of them.

You can imagine my shock when our own Church made Greek a dispensable study for ordination. Thus it laid the foundation for the present practice, namely, formally constituting men to be official interpreters of a Book which they could not read—the New Testament. Above all, they must "preach," whether they had something to say or just had to say something. When the modern American substitute for education drove Greek from the preparatory schools and then from many colleges, our seminaries, instead of insisting upon their ideal, calmly introduced what has come to be known as "Baby Greek" for those who could not wangle dispensations from it. After a year of this course, students were allowed to stumble through a couple of books of the New Testament. I am still shocked when I hear a priest say, "I haven't looked at my Greek Testament since I left seminary." He might well add to his boasting that he had looked into it as little as possible while he was in seminary.

The last fifteen years have witnessed the gradual return of the importance of the ability of the Church's official teachers to read the New Testament in the language in which it was written. Learning to become a competent priest may once more become as difficult as learning to become a competent physician. The present School of Theology of the University of the South is making a valuable contribution to this end. I predict that, in the next ten years, it will be the best, or at least one of the best, seminaries of our Church.

When I went to Sewanee twenty-five years ago, I had been teaching for thirty years; the last twenty of them had been on the "graduate school" level at the University of Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia Divinity School. In the latter place, I had been, for over fifteen years, "Chairman of the Graduate Department." When the school was closed in 1935, Bishop Gailor¹ immediately asked me to go to Sewanee as professor of theology.

I went down to have a talk with him and, incidentally, to see the place. For the first time in my life, I saw what was called a university without any kind of graduate school, and with a "Theological Depart-

¹ THOMAS FRANK GAILOR (Sep. 17, 1867—Oct. 3, 1935) was consecrated Bishop Coadjutor of Tennessee, July 25, 1893. Bishop of Tennessee, 1898-1935.

ment" (that was its name), which had no library and no one who saw any need for graduate study. I outlined my disappointment to Bishop Gailor who smiled and replied, "This is the reason I want you to come here, and I want to assure you of my complete support of any plans you may have." The details of this conversation will never be published. I accepted the invitation and returned to Philadelphia to pack my belongings and start for Sewanee. Upon our arrival, I saw a large crowd gathered between the Chapel and Walsh Hall, and stopped to inquire what was going on. You can imagine my feelings when I was told that Bishop Gailor had died the day before, and that his burial service was about to start!

On that day my path was clearly defined for me. It consisted of three points: (1) The "theological department" must become a "School of Theology." (2) The school must have a library as soon as possible. (3) It must envisage a "Graduate Department." To all these I could contribute, although I could not expect to see any of them completed. I thought of my father and Dr. Byler and Dr. Jastrow, and made my immediate plan to start teaching theology as a university professor would do it, rather than as a pedlar of my own opinions. The desire to learn not what-to-think, but how-to-think must be instilled into the students.

The story of the beginning and development of the Library of Theology (the "twin sister" of the Graduate School) does not belong here. It has its own small beginnings. The valuable cooperation of Mr. John Hodges and the enthusiastic support of Alex Guerry hastened the work. The story has its own anecdotes of development from two shelves to a separate building. It will have to be presented by title here.

During my first year at Sewanee, I made many acquaintances among the alumni, several of whom I had taught at the College of Preachers in Washington. It surprised me to find how many were anxious to do some kind of graduate work but could not afford to "take a year off." At the Summer Conference in 1936, I gave a course of lectures for the clergy and found more expressions of the same desire. Some wanted to study for degrees; the majority just wanted to study, in order to increase their usefulness.

The customary method of evaluating college and graduate work was upon the basis of "units of credit." A unit of credit consisted of attendance at lectures one hour a week for one semester. Thus a course which had three lectures a week for the average semester would give a credit of three units. The idea occurred to me that the magical number

"fifteen" (the number of weeks in the average semester) could be attained for a given course by having three lectures a week for five weeks. If we could start with a faculty of four qualified men, who would each lecture every other day, five full weeks would make it possible for an enterprising man to secure four units of credit if he chose to take the prescribed examinations. Each student would also have several hours a day for prescribed study and reading.

One afternoon in the same summer of 1936, Moultrie Guerry (then the chaplain of the University) called to see me, and I proposed my plan to him to ask what he thought of it. He replied, "Why don't you go to work and have the school ready by next summer?" I laid the plan out and went first to Ben Finney, the vice-chancellor, who encouraged me to go ahead. He offered to secure formal permission for use of St. Luke's seminary building and chapel for a period of five weeks, and to assume responsibility for details of arrangements with the dining hall for that time.

The first problem was the faculty. The seminary was not accredited and only two members of the faculty had graduate degrees. I wrote to my former classmate, Dr. Burton Scott Easton,² and to my former colleague, Dr. James Alan Montgomery,³ to ask each whether he would be willing to offer a course of lectures for a period of five weeks, even if we could offer only transportation to-and-fro for himself and his wife, and entertainment during the five weeks here. Thus they would be making a definite contribution to further education for Southern clergy. Each replied immediately saying, "Yes." Dr. Charles L. Wells,⁴ after much effort at persuasion, consented to give a course if I would do all the work connected with the course and the school. Mr. Finney suggested the title "Director," and forthwith appointed me as such.

A graduate school *must* have books, and we had none, and no

² BURTON SCOTT EASTON (Dec. 4, 1877—March 7, 1950) had an international reputation as a New Testament scholar. Nashotah House, 1905-1911; Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, 1911-1919; General Theological Seminary, New York City, 1919-1949.

³ JAMES ALAN MONTGOMERY (June 13, 1866—Feb. 6, 1949) was professor of Hebrew and Aramaic at the University of Pennsylvania, 1910-1949; and professor of the Old Testament at the Philadelphia Divinity School, 1899-1935.

⁴ CHARLES LUKE WELLS (June 23, 1858—April 18, 1938) had had a varied career in pastoral work, seminary and university teaching. He was at Seabury Divinity School, Faribault, Minnesota, 1888-1892; professor of history at the University of Minnesota, 1894-1899; and at Harvard and McGill Universities, 1909-1912. Rectorships of parishes were held between the teaching positions. His field was ecclesiastical history. In 1916, he came to Sewanee to occupy that chair; in 1922, he also became dean of the School of Theology, and held both positions until his death at the age of eighty years.

money to buy any. I wrote to two friends in the North to tell them our predicament. I had never raised money for anything, and asked each of them whether he could secure a little money for this worthy purpose. Each sent me \$100.00. One day the late Z. C. Patten came and introduced himself to me. In the course of conversation, he noted that we were starting a graduate school without any books. "Would this be of any help?" With that he handed me a \$50.00 gold piece. We now had enough to buy the necessary books for the four courses.

The next problem was to get "customers." Charles Widney, a graduate of the seminary, was rector of the local parish. He came to see me one day to be the first "registrant" of the new school. He said he would write to 150 alumni to ask a contribution of \$1.00 from each of them to help defray initial expenses. Two weeks later he returned with \$100.00! I then wrote to a few heads of graduate schools, whom I knew, to ask whether they could give academic credit for work done this way if it were accredited by Messrs. Montgomery, Easton and Yerkes. In every instance the reply was, "Yes."

Only the financial problem remained to be solved. This problem had three factors: (1) Transportation to-and-fro for Dr. and Mrs. Montgomery and Dr. and Mrs. Easton; (2) expenses of the Dining Hall; (3) care of rooms in St. Luke's Hall. By process of addition, multiplication and division, we found that, if we could get 15 registrants for the five weeks at \$75.00 per person (\$1,125.00), expenses would be covered, with the exception of correspondence borne by the director.

We were ready to print a folder announcing the "Summer Graduate School of Theology." Mr. Thompson, then head of the University Press, printed that and charged only absolute cost. By good fortune, the director happened to be invited to speak to a couple of groups of laymen that autumn; he took the opportunity of telling how much the clergy wanted to study, how little time and money they had for the same, and how we were making it possible by having a summer school of five weeks. He knew they wouldn't mind their rectors taking an extra week of vacation for this purpose, and that they could serve the Church by providing "scholarships." His purpose was simply to get the subject talked about.

By the first of June, 1937, we had the required fifteen applications, and the school was announced as ready to open. When the time came, two of the fifteen had had to cancel their engagements. The result was a slight deficit for which provision had been tentatively made. Among

the first students were the present Bishop of South Florida⁵ and the present Dean of the School of Theology,⁶ who can give you many memoranda of that first session, including a snap shot of the faculty and students of the first session.

By the next year Dean Wells had died, and we had to provide for a third visiting lecturer. Additional registrations cared for this; there were no deficits except time, labour and printing for administration and correspondence. Ben Finney left the University that year, and his successor, Alex Guerry, told the director frankly that, while he was not going to order cancellation of the 1938 session, he was not prepared to endorse the school; he was not satisfied with its academic work! I told him that, if he was not satisfied, this was his privilege, but that I should be compelled to inform the faculty. I was fully aware of considerable opposition to the school on the part of some who were not interested in study, except in the abstract. We were ready to rely upon the devotion of the faculty and the enthusiastic appreciation of the students to counteract any opposition. This is mentioned because of your specific question whether, at any time, we were doubtful of the continuation of the school. That year we had four "Ph.D.'s" from the University of Pennsylvania as a faculty—one from New York, one from Connecticut, one from Philadelphia, and the same old director. Incidentally, the one from Connecticut, Dr. Fleming James,⁷ was thus introduced to Sewanee, and to Dr. Guerry, who eventually asked him to become dean of the School of Theology.

By the end of the session of 1938, Dr. Guerry had changed his position entirely. He admitted he had been wrong, and, like the man he was, apologized for his mistake. He insisted upon the continuance of the school, and its acceptance by the Senate of the University, to which he asked the director to present it formally. With his help, the Senate endorsed it unanimously, and the new school, henceforth to be called "The Graduate School of Theology," was empowered to recommend students for the S.T.M. degree. Dr. Guerry insisted that the enrollment details and financial responsibility be taken over by the University administration office, and that, henceforth, the director be reimbursed for all future expenses incurred in correspondence, printing and mailing.

⁵ HENRY IRVING LOUTTIT was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of South Florida, May 23, 1945; Coadjutor, 1948; third Bishop, 1951.

⁶ The Very Rev. GEORGE M. ALEXANDER, D.D., S.T.D.

⁷ FLEMING JAMES served in the parochial ministry in Philadelphia, China, and Englewood, New Jersey, until 1921, when he became professor of Old Testament at Berkeley Divinity School. In 1940, he was called to be dean and professor of Old Testament at Sewanee, until his retirement in 1947.

The next year we presented, at the annual commencement, the first candidate for the S.T.M. degree.

During the years 1943, 1944, and 1945, it was impossible to conduct the school for the simple reason that the U. S. Navy had taken over the University for full year sessions. We reopened in 1946. My last service to the University was the Graduate School of 1947. Dr. Guerry begged me to return for the session of 1948, but there was no necessity for this. The Graduate School had been definitely established, and the library for the School of Theology had got well under way; its completion was the next project.

My work at Sewanee had definitely been done. The Seminary had become a School of Theology; it had a library, and it had a real Graduate School. The book which I had started many years before had been neglected for twelve years and I was within two years of retiring age. Moreover, my former student, the Bishop of Chicago,⁸ had made definite plans for my retirement to this place where, of course, I have no salary, but where I am provided with an apartment with all utilities. I have been here for ten years. The book was finished and published in America and in England, and was translated into French. I am now at work on chapter ten of a second volume which I hope to finish in a few months.

Please accept my apologies for the length of this letter, which has become a document. And will you please convey my affectionate greetings to Dean Baker, Dr. Bruton and Dr. McCrady. Mrs. Yerkes and I would love to visit Sewanee once more, but traveling is out of the question for us. We welcome the *Sewanee News* every time it comes. We read it carefully and try to relive some of the gratifying experiences which we had there for twelve years. I think my greatest desire would be to see the Seminary Library Building. I still hear, by letter and telephone and visits, from many of my former pupils there. Possibly one more reminiscence would be in order.

My dear friend Bishop Rhinelander,⁹ and Bishop Manning,¹⁰ were my advisers in accepting the invitation to go to Sewanee. Both of them had clear visions of what Sewanee might become, and both of them were of the opinion that it was my duty to accept and make a contribu-

⁸ WALLACE E. CONKLIN was Bishop of Chicago, 1941-1953.

⁹ PHILIP MERCER RHINELANDER (1869-1939) was Bishop of Pennsylvania, 1911-1923. He was co-founder and first warden of the College of Preachers, Washington Cathedral, Washington, D. C.

¹⁰ WILLIAM THOMAS MANNING (1866-1949) was the tenth Bishop of New York, 1921-1947.

tion toward laying the foundations of a superstructure which both of them envisaged. Both were confident that, within twenty-five years, the University of the South would move toward the leadership in academic and spiritual influence in the Church. "We have seen the result of the travail of our souls, and are satisfied."

Our fond greetings to Mrs. Chitty.

Faithfully,

ROYDEN KEITH YERKES.

Alexander Whitaker (1585-1617)

"The Apostle of Virginia"

By William H. Littleton*



ALEXANDER WHITAKER first greeted his parents, William and Susan Culverwell Whitaker, in 1585, at which time his father was the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University, England. By far the greater part of Alexander's first twenty-four years were to be spent in Cambridge, both as a child and as a student. The Whitaker family, however, was not native to this area.

I

Ancestry and Early Life

In the 14th century, the Whitakers, by marriage, acquired the estate of Holme in Lancashire, some four miles southeast of Burnley and four miles from the Yorkshire border.¹ The neighborhood, which lay only ten miles from the moors made famous as the setting of *Wuthering Heights*, was marked by bare, rocky crags, woods and waterfalls, glens and gullies.²

Another ten miles from Holme lay Read, the home of the Nowells, also a prominent Lancashire family. In 1530, Thomas Whitaker, Alexander's grandfather, married Elizabeth Nowell, and brought her to the wooden manor house at Holme. The young bride had three brothers, two of whom were to make distinguished names for themselves. Robert Nowell, although well known in the politics of his own day, left no lasting monument. Laurence, her second brother, is remembered as having been an outstanding Anglo-Saxon scholar.

Alexander Nowell, the third brother, adorned most brightly the family name. He served as dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, from 1560 to 1602, the year of his death. His fame, made secure by the facts that he is attributed with having inadvertently invented bottled beer and having been a renowned angler, more properly rests in his scholarship in the production of a Latin Catechism. During the 1550's, he, along with so many other English Protestants, sought sanctuary on the continent during the reign of Mary. For a while he seems to have lived

* The author is a student at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.

¹ H. C. Porter, "Alexander Whitaker," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, July, 1957, p. 320.

² *Ibid.*, p. 321.

in Frankfort where he entered debates, arguing against the surplice and kneeling for communion.³ Sixty years later in another foreign land, his great-nephew still discussed the same issues.

Robert, Laurence, and Alexander Nowell became uncles in 1548 with the birth of a third son, William, to Thomas and Elizabeth Whitaker. During the first decade of William's life, while he learned to walk, to talk, and to explore the countryside around Holme, England writhed in turmoil. The Edwardian Books of Common Prayer were prepared and debated. Following the early death of Protestant Edward VI in 1553 and the accession to the throne of Roman Catholic Mary, England witnessed a Protestant blood bath which drove many of her leading citizens into exile, among them William's uncle Alexander.

After the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, Alexander Nowell became dean of St. Paul's in 1560. He then sent for his young nephew to come and attend St. Paul's school. William, after being at St. Paul's for four years, matriculated as a pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, on October 4, 1564. In March, 1568, he received the B.A. degree, and in September of the following year was elected to a minor fellowship. On March 25, 1571, he was elected to a major fellowship and was now reading for the M.A. degree. Throughout this educational period, he was financially aided by his Uncle Alexander. When, therefore, William published a Greek translation of the Prayer Book about this time, he dedicated it to his uncle.⁴ In his academic circle he had acquired a name for himself as an "indefatigable student of scriptures" and the Fathers.⁵ He was ordained in 1576. In February two years later, he was installed as canon of Norwich Cathedral, and during the same year was admitted to the B.D. degree. In 1577, he relinquished his fellowship in order to marry Susan Culverwell, the daughter of a comfortably situated merchant-haberdasher of London—Nicholas Culverwell.⁶

Susan Culverwell, Alexander Whitaker's mother, was one of seven known children of Nicholas Culverwell. She had three brothers and three sisters. One brother, Samuel, entered Church College, Cambridge, the same year that William Whitaker took the B.A. at Trinity. Samuel, ordained in 1578, became a "godly pastor" in Yorkshire until his death in 1613. A second brother, Ezekiel, first attended Oxford and then

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Sidney Lee, editor, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. LXI, p. 21.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ The information on the Culverwell family is taken largely from the article by Porter.

transferred to Cambridge in 1578. The other brother, Nicholas, Jr., went to Christ's College, Cambridge, at the early age of twelve years in 1578. It appears that Ezekiel and Nicholas, Jr., took advantage of having newly acquired relations in Cambridge.

All of the Culverwell girls contracted marriages with men, the light of whose lives, though diminished by the passing of more than three centuries, shone with a distinguished luster in their own day.

One of the daughters married Arthur Dent who was born in 1553, went to Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1571, and served as rector of South Shoebury, Essex, from 1580 until his death in 1601. He was often in trouble for refusing to wear the surplice. His claim to fame, however, rests in his authorship of a book, *The Ruin of Rome*, "for the daunting of Papists, seminary priests, and all that cursed rabble." Ezekiel Culverwell, his brother-in-law, edited and published the book after his death.

Elizabeth Culverwell married Thomas Gouge of Stratford, Middlesex. Gouge later became one of the shareholders of the Virginia Company. Born to this home was a son, William, the "cosen" to whom Alexander Whitaker addressed one of his few extant letters from Virginia. William's refusal of the provostship of King's College, Cambridge, and his reputation as a Puritan saint preserve his memory.

The third sister, Cecilia Culverwell, married Laurence Chaderton, well known as a leading exponent of the Puritan cause. In 1584, the year before Alexander Whitaker's birth, Dr. Chaderton became the first master of the new Puritan college of Emmanuel. During the formative years of the Virginia Colony (1606-1616), and while his nephew labored there, his name appeared on the list of the members of the Virginia Company.⁷ Between 1629 and 1640, he must have bade farewell to many of the Emmanuel men leaving for the new land; for, according to Porter, of the hundred or so Cambridge men to brave the Atlantic crossing during this period, "thirty-three were Emmanuel bred."⁸ Dr. Chaderton finally died in Cambridge in 1640 at the age of 102 years.

Concerning the Culverwell side of Whitaker's background, one other word may be said. A relative of Nicholas Culverwell, one Judith Culverwell, became the first wife of Sir Thomas Smith (Smythe), a member from the beginning of the Virginia Company, the first governor of the East India Company, a member of Parliament and an am-

⁷ Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, p. 803.

⁸ Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

bassador to Russia, to name only a few of his distinctions.^{8a} Alexander Whitaker addressed a letter to him from the colony in 1612.

After the marriage of William Whitaker and Susan Culverwell in 1577, William secured the appointment of Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1580, to which Queen Elizabeth shortly added the chancellorship of St. Paul's, London. During this time he established himself as the champion and spokesman of the Calvinistic interpretation of the Church's teachings. In 1585, Alexander Whitaker was born. His father, in the meantime, busily composed controversial, theological treatises. Upon the recommendation of his friends, Whitgift and Burghley, he was appointed master of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is said that his appointment was opposed by most of the fellows because of his Puritan bias.⁹ In a sense his administration fulfilled the expectation of everyone. Those responsible for the appointment wished to see the college prosper, which it did during his years there. The fellows feared his Puritanism, and justly; for the Puritan influence in the college definitely increased under his administration. Because of his impartiality in dealing with those under him, however, it was finally said that all were "united in their affection to their Master," and that eventually "he had no enemies to overcome."¹⁰

In February, 1586 or 1587, the Whitaker family moved into the master's lodge at St. John's.¹¹ If the year were 1587, then the same year saw two other big events in the Whitaker household: the birth of a brother, Samuel, for the two-year-old Alexander, and the conferring of the D.D. degree upon the father, William. Two years later, tragedy struck when Alexander's mother died. At that time, there were at least the two children, and probably more.

Dr. Whitaker remarried in April, 1591, taking as his wife Joan Fenner, the widow of Dudley Fenner. Mr. Fenner had renounced his Anglican orders, crossed the channel to Antwerp, Belgium, received ordination in the Reformed Church, and had served in that communion until his death in 1587. The new Mrs. Whitaker probably brought into the master's lodge her two children: a son, More Fruit (born 1583), and a daughter, Faint Not, the same age as Alexander.¹²

^{8a} Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 1012 ff.

⁹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. LXI, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ The *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* gives the appointment as having been made on Feb., 1586. Porter, however, records the move as being in Feb., 1587. It does not seem likely that a year passed between the appointment and their moving into their new quarters.

¹² Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

During the next year, Dr. Whitaker continued his theological writing. One of his productions, *De Authoritatae Scripturae*, he dedicated to John Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, his friend of long standing and his former master at Trinity College.¹³ In 1595, Whitaker was installed as a canon of Canterbury. In November, he conferred in the drawing up of the Calvinistic Lambeth Articles. In less than a month after his return home, he died on December 4, 1595. His death left the family in a most precarious position financially, as is evidenced by a letter of Alexander Nowell which expresses concern about the poverty of the Whitakers.¹⁴ This concern must be considered beside a statement by William Crashaw in his *Epistle Dedicatorie*, affirming that Alexander Whitaker had "some meanes of his own left him by his parents."¹⁵ Apparently, whatever means Dr. Whitaker left proved insufficient for the needs of his large and growing family. Even after his death, Joan Whitaker gave birth to his last child, a boy whom she named Jabez because, as she said, "I bore him with sorrow."¹⁶

Concerning the Whitaker children, Alexander was reportedly one of eight born to William Whitaker. Alexander, alone, earned a nitch in the memory of history. The identification of the others must be gleaned from various sources, and then with a degree of uncertainty. Samuel, of course, was Alexander's junior by two years. Jabez, the youngest, may have been a lieutenant in the Virginia Colony as early as 1621,¹⁷ or a captain there by 1623.¹⁸ Without doubt, his name appears among the signatures affixed to "The Answer of the General Assembly in Virginia to the Declaration of the state of the colony in the twelve years of Sir Thomas Smythe's government (generally called the 'Tragical Relation')."¹⁹ A third brother, Richard, reportedly became a "learned bookseller and Printer" in London.²⁰

Porter, apparently working from documents at Cambridge, suggests the possible names of two other brothers. A Thomas Whitaker, born in 1578, entered Trinity College in 1594. If he were William's son, then

¹³ John Whitgift (1530?-1604), who succeeded Grindal as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, held the office for 21 years and lived to crown James I in 1604. In doctrine he leaned toward Calvinism, but was a staunch defender of the established Church and the episcopate.

¹⁴ Letter of Nowell in Lansdowne MMS., LXXX, No. 80, quoted by Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

¹⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

¹⁶ Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

¹⁷ Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America*, p. 454.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 512.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 571.

²⁰ *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, Vol. LXI, p. 21.

he was the first child born to Susan. Thomas became a schoolmaster in Burnley until his death in 1626. A William Whitaker, born about 1592, entered St. John's in 1609. If he were Dr. Whitaker's son, then he was Alexander's half brother, the first child born to Joan. The eighth child, Alexander's only sister, remains nameless. It is known only that in 1618 she was in the Virginia Colony.²¹

Dr. William Whitaker, although little known today, evoked words of extravagant praise from his contemporaries: "The pride and ornament of Cambridge," one said, while his biographer affirmed, "No English divine of the sixteenth century surpassed Whitaker in the estimation of his contemporaries."²² He is reported to have been "by nature quiet and tractable,"²³ a man "wholly given over to study and unaware of the real events in the college."²⁴ Although quiet and tractable, he demonstrated himself to be vocal and adamant regarding his convictions, as on the occasion when, to the chagrin of some of his fellows, he expelled one of their number who had maintained an anti-Calvinist theology in college disputations. This same gentleman had also refused to pay his commons, had gone fishing during the time of chapel services, and had indulged in "the rather unacademic habit of blowing a horn and hallooing in the college court."²⁵

The death of his father marks the end of the first period of Alexander Whitaker's life. The minister to the colony, the "Apostle to Virginia," was already being formed by the influences impressing themselves unconsciously upon the ten year old lad. One need not look far to find those influences. From his family heritage, Alexander received three principles which in time became his own. The *first* was an antipathy toward the Roman Catholic Church. His Great-Uncle Nowell had been an exile under the reign of Roman Catholic Queen Mary. His father had controversially engaged Rainolds concerning the Roman Catholic version of the New Testament in English. The *second* was an even stronger affinity for Puritanism. Two of his uncles were Puritan leaders, while his cousin, William Gouge, was regarded almost as a saint. His father, a Calvinist, reigned for eight years as master of the traditionally Puritan St. John's College, Cambridge. The very air breathed by young Alexander smacked of Puritan attitudes. The *third* principle was the determination to remain a loyal member of the Established

²¹ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 277.

²² *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, Vol. LXI, p. 21.

²³ Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

Church, despite objections to certain practices within the Church. These three form a recurring melody in Alexander's life.

Another influence, less obvious but no less operative, impressed itself upon him. The first ten years of his life he spent in an academic atmosphere, a world of teachers and learners, of books and ideas. How did this academic orientation affect him? The evidence for a conclusive answer being absent, one can only suggest that the instruction of Pocahontas (to be discussed presently) represents the fulfillment of this facet of the intellect.

II

Education and Ordination

About the period of Alexander Whitaker's life from the death of his father until his association with the Virginia enterprise, little is known. We know nothing at all of him for over two years, until in 1598 he and his brother, Samuel, appeared at Eton.²⁶ Alexander, thirteen years old at this time, became a foundation scholar: the foundation having been begun for "the poor and needy" by the kindly, if insane, Henry VI, who founded both Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Samuel, who was only eleven, became a chorister. Porter, in mentioning Alexander's four years at Eton, gives no original source; so one supposes he is describing a typical course when he says that the lad spent his time "studying Latin grammar and set authors, composing Latin prose and (in his last year) Latin verse."²⁷ He suggests that the boys had their diversions, however; they "played tennis and drank beer and performed plays at Christmas."²⁸

In 1602, Alexander progressed from Eton to Trinity College, his father's old school. The following is a description of Trinity College as it was in Alexander's day:

The College was the largest in Cambridge, with nearly sixty dons and over three hundred students, and was at last beginning definitely to overshadow, both in influence and splendor, its next door neighbor, St. John's. For almost ten years the princely Thomas Nevile, Dean of Canterbury, had been Master; and the Great Court of Trinity, as it splendidly stands today, was Nevile's "grand design." "If Henry VIII founded Trinity," writes Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, "Nevile built it."²⁹ He did so with the determination of a mil-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Loc. cit.*

²⁹ G. M. Trevelyan, *Trinity College*, p. 21, quoted by Porter.

lionaire American dilettante, pulling down whole wings, building anew on a grand scale, and financing out of his own private fortune perhaps the most beautiful secular construction in Cambridge—the second court of Trinity, which bears his name. When Alexander went up, the turrets of the Great Gate were complete, the Edward III Gateway had been moved stone by stone to its present site, and a new library and the greater part of the Master's lodge were ready for use; the elegant fountain which still stands in the court was erected in Alexander's freshman year; by 1604 the dining hall was finished, by 1605 the kitchen and the combination room. Under such a Master the college was excitingly noisy with the sound of ax and hammer, but relatively undisturbed by such religious convulsions as had racked the St. John's of Alexander's boyhood.³⁰

Alexander continued at Trinity to take his B.A. degree in 1604 or 1605, followed by the M.A. in 1608. For the years of his college work there is nothing to indicate that the normal flow of his daily life was far different from that of his contemporaries. One event concerning his Uncle Laurence, however, serves to show the continuing Puritan influence of his family. Shortly after the accession to the throne of James VI of Scotland as James I of England, he called the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. Dr. Chaderton attended as a member of the Puritan delegation. He had hoped to suggest that the use of the surplice be made optional. Before he could speak, however, it had been noted that at Emmanuel a "private course of public prayer" was favored over the Book of Common Prayer, that the surplice was not used in the chapel, and that the sacrament was received by the members of the college "sitting upon forms about the communion table."³¹ As the record shows, Dr. Chaderton failed to achieve his purpose. Rather, the result of the conference was an effort to enforce and strengthen the regulations concerning liturgy and discipline. The pressure became such that even Dr. Chaderton's college, Emmanuel, bowed in submission, up to a point. Samuel Ward, a fellow at Emmanuel, wrote in his diary for January 18, 1605, that on that day "the surplice was first urged by the Archbishop to be brought into Emmanuel."³²

One other anecdote about Chaderton's Puritanism is worthy of note. When James I visited Cambridge in 1615, it was pointed out to him that the kitchen of Emmanuel faced east but the chapel north. The king then remarked to Dr. Chaderton, "God will not turn his face away

³⁰ Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

³¹ Harleian MMS., 7033, p. 850, quoted by Porter, p. 330.

³² Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward, *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, p. 130, quoted by Porter, p. 330.

from the prayers of any holy and pious man, to whatsoever region of heaven he direct his eyes. So, Doctor, I beg you to pray for me."³³

Whitaker's own attitude toward the surplice is mentioned in a letter he wrote to his cousin, William Gouge, in which he says, "But I much more muse that so few of our English Ministers that were so hot against the Surplis and subscription, come hither where neither are spoken of."³⁴ The passage implies several things: first, that the disciplinary regulations of the Church, if not relaxed, were adhered to less strenuously in the colony at this time; second, that Whitaker, himself, concurred in this relaxation; third, that he mildly chastised the Puritan brethren who made much of little but were unwilling to forsake all to follow Christ; that he regarded other matters as more significant to the Christian faith and life, for he continues by saying to Gouge (who was, one must remember, a staunch Puritan), "But you, my cosen, hold fast to that which you have."

After completing the M.A. in 1608, Whitaker "was seated in the North-Country, where he was well approved by the greatest, and beloved of his people."³⁵ Crashaw, unfortunately, fails to say where in the north country he was seated. Porter expresses the belief that Alexander's parish was in Yorkshire, for several reasons. In the first place, Crashaw, a personal friend of the Whitaker family, had connections in Yorkshire. In the second place, Alexander's uncle, Samuel Culverwell, had been a pastor in Yorkshire for many years and might have been influential in assisting his nephew to secure a position. Finally, in Crashaw's *Epistle Dedicatorie*, addressed to Lord Ure, he says, "Your Lordship knew Master Whitaker in the North, and by your peculiar knowledge of the man, and the place where he lived, can be an honorable witness with mee."³⁶ Lord Ure had been the sheriff of Yorkshire and knew the county well. He might easily have known the young clergyman and his situation there.

As to Whitaker's financial status, Crashaw remains discretely vague and yet complimentary, saying, "He had competent allowance to his good liking, and was in a good possibility of better living, as any of his time."³⁷ Porter, without offering the source of his information, declares the living to have been worth 40 pounds a year.³⁸

³³ William Dillingham, *Life of Chaderton*, p. 11, quoted by Porter, p. 330.

³⁴ J. S. M. Anderson, *A History of the Church of England in the Colonies*, p. 241.

³⁵ Brown, *Genesis*, p. 614.

³⁶ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

³⁷ Brown, *Genesis*, p. 614.

³⁸ Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

Alexander actually received his holy orders in 1609. In compliance with the canons of 1604, he must have willingly subscribed to three articles: first, to recognize the king as the supreme governor of the Church of England; second, to approve the Thirty-nine Articles as "agreeable to the word of God"; and third, to affirm that the Book of Common Prayer "containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used; and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and none other."³⁹

III

"Come Over and Help Us!"

While Alexander Whitaker studied at Trinity and ministered to his parishioners in Yorkshire, other men sat in council, planned, and labored for the reality of an English colony in the new land of America. A group of London men procured a charter in April of 1606 and organized the London Company for the purpose of planting colonies in the area between 34 and 41 degrees north latitude. In December, 1606, they sent out three ships bearing 120 colonists under the command of Captain Christopher Newport. Five months later, the little band established a settlement at James-Town. Other colonists came. In 1609, the London Company received a second charter, vesting the government in a council empowered to appoint its own officers. In May, 1610, the new governor, Lord Delaware, arrived in Jamestown with 400 colonists. In England, the colony was reported well established. The actual truth was then known only by a few. By the fall of 1610, of the approximately 900 colonists sent from England, 700 had already perished; but this colony, unlike those before it, was able to keep glowing the spark of life through the first terrible years.

While those in Jamestown struggled for survival, the Company in London constantly sought proper persons willing to populate (perhaps repopulate would be more accurate) the infant colony. The following quotation from a Declaration of the Council for the Colony, published in 1608, illustrates both their publicity and the type persons they sought:

To avoyde both scandall and perill of accepting idle and wicked persons, such as shame or feare compells into this action; and such as

³⁹ *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*, 1604, xxxvi, quoted by Porter, p. 331.

are the weedes and rankness of this land; who beeing the surfet of an able, healthy, and composed body, must need be the poyson of one so tender, feeble, and yet unformed. . . . We will receive no man, that cannot bring or render some good testimony of his religion to God, and civill manners and behavior to his neighbour with whom he hath lived; and for the second, we have set down in a table annexed, the proportion and number we will entertain in every necessary Arte, upon proof and assurance that every man shall be able to perform that which he doth undertake.⁴⁰

The annexed list began with a request for "four honest and learned Ministers."

Besides such officially publicized expressions of the need of the colony for ministers, the public began to hear the Christian responsibility for the cause of the colonists and of the Indians expounded by the London ministers. William Crashaw, Alexander's friend and, at this time, preacher at the Inner Temple, delivered a sermon in the presence of the Virginia Council on February 21, 1609.

"If the planting," he said, "of an English Colonie, in a good and fruitful soil, and of an English Church in a heathen countrey; if the conversion of the Heathen, the propagating of the Gospell, the enlarging of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, be not inducements strong enough to bring them into this businesse, it is a pity they be in it at all."⁴¹

After thus arguing against any who might enter the enterprise for purely personal gain, he then assured them that

"though wee do not intend our profit in this action, yet, if wee intend God's honor, and the conversion of soules, God will assuredly send us great profit, which wee may take lawfully and thankfully as his blessing."⁴²

Why did Alexander leave his comfortable living in the north country to find his way to a frontier wilderness where his chances for surviving the next four years were less than one in four? Perhaps he was moved by Crashaw's sermon, for Porter says he was in the congregation that day.⁴³ Perhaps he discussed the needs of the colony with his Uncle Laurence, since he was a member of the Company. As to how Alexander came to make his decision, Crashaw said,

"He without any persuasion (but God's and his own heart) did

⁴⁰ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁴³ Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

voluntarily leave his own nest; and to the wonder of his kindred, and amazement of them that knew him, he undertook this hard, but in my judgment, heroically resolution to go to Virginia and help to bear the name of God unto the Gentiles."⁴⁴

The ultimate reason for Alexander's action, Crashaw continued to explain, was that

"God will be glorified in his own workes, and what he hath determined to do, hee will find means to bring to passe; for the perfecting therefore of his blessed worke, he hath stirred up able and worthy men to undertake the manning and managing of it."⁴⁵

Whitaker left his personal reasons for going to the new land shrouded in darkness. In a letter to Crashaw, written in August after his arrival in the colony in May, 1611, he said, "If there be any young Godly and learned Ministers whom the Church hath not, or refuseth, to sett a worke send them thither. Our harvest is froward and great for the want of such."⁴⁶ This fails to indicate a personal concern which compelled him to action. He seems to be saying, with an unexpected nonchalance, "if you know of a minister having nothing better to do, send him out." Alexander certainly did not mean for his plea to be taken so lightly, however. If one had asked him why he came to Virginia, he probably would have answered, as a sincere man with a Calvinistic background, that he was doing what he considered to be the duty God had appointed for him. Another statement in his letter indicates his Puritan orientation, which may well have entered his thinking and deciding. "Young men," he told Crashaw, "are fittest for this country, and we have noe need either for ceremonies or bad livers."⁴⁷

Whatever his reasons, Alexander Whitaker offered his services to the Virginia Plantation for three years. On March 27, 1611, he and some 300 other colonists watched Land's End melt into the ocean. They were on their way to the new land.

IV

First Minister of Henrico Parish

Captain Newport, who had taken the first colonists to Virginia, commanded the convoy with which Whitaker sailed, a convoy bearing besides the three hundred people "all things necessary for the colony,

⁴⁴ Brown, *Genesis*, p. 615.

⁴⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.*

and also some horses, kine, goats . . . conies, pigeons and pullen."⁴⁸ The group included one other minister, a Mr. Poole, about whom little more is heard. Perhaps he died shortly after arrival,⁴⁹ or maybe he returned to England.

Having good winds, the convoy reached the Canary Islands in early April, and made the middle crossing to Dominica by May 9. There they took on fresh water, and, sailing by Puerto Rico to Virginia, anchored off Point Comfort before Fort Algernoun on the evening of May 22, 1611.⁵⁰ Robert Beverly, writing in 1705, gave the date of their arrival as May 10.⁵¹ This would have meant a passage of about six weeks, which was possible but unlikely. Beverly apparently gave not the date of the landing in Virginia but that of their arrival in the West Indies.

Sir Thomas Dale, the new deputy-governor, arrived with Whitaker. Throughout the coming months, those two men were often to work together on behalf of the new colony. On the morning of the 23rd, Dale found the retiring deputy-governor, Percy, at the Fort along with some of the Council. They had come down from Jamestown to give the *Hercules*, sailing under Captain Adams, her discharge for England. Dale, however, detained Captain Adams until he could prepare "letters of Advise" for the Council in London. Finding the two forts (Henry and Charles) at the mouth of the James River abandoned, he immediately set about the task of repossessing and rebuilding them. He placed Captain James Davis in command of the operation. Whitaker doubtless became acquainted with Davis then, unaware that their paths would be thrown together in a town still unfounded.⁵²

On May 29, Dale and company arrived in Jamestown, where he went at once to the church and heard a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Poole. Two other ministers were probably present: the Rev. Richard Bucke,⁵³ who had followed the deceased Robert Hunt in Jamestown, and Alexander Whitaker himself. The colony boasted of yet another minister, the Rev. William Mease, who served Kecoughtan from 1610 to 1620.^{53a} Following the sermon, Mr. Strachy read the commission which the lord-governor had left with him for Sir Thomas Dale, and Percy surrendered his commission, which accordingly expired.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 149.

⁴⁹ G. M. Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church*, Vol. I, p. 20.

⁵⁰ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 149.

⁵¹ Robert Beverly, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, p. 37.

⁵² Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 149.

⁵³ Brydon, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 16 ff.

^{53a} *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁵⁴ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 150.

If, during the reading of the commission, Alexander's mind and eyes wandered, he noticed that the church, or chapel, was 60 feet long and 24 wide. Lord Delaware had had it furnished with a chancel of cedar and a communion table of black walnut. "All the pews and pulpit were of cedar, with fair broad windows, also of cedar, to shut and open." The font was "hewn hollow like a canoa," and two bells hung in the steeple at the west end. When Lord Delaware had been in the colony, he had kept the church "sweet and trimmed with divers flowers,"⁵⁵ but the past year had taken its toll; and the chapel now stood in need of repair.

Dale immediately set about the task of strengthening the colony. On May 30, 1611, after consultation with the Council, a program of repair and expansion began. They decided at once

"to repair the church and storehouse; to build a stable for their horses, a munition-house, a powder-house, and a sturgeon-dressing house; to dig a new well; to make brick; to raise a blockhouse on the north side of the back river to prevent the Indians from killing the cattle; a house to store hay in, and lodge the cattle in winter, and to perfect a smith's forge; besides private gardens for each man, common (public) gardens for hemp and flax, and such other seeds, and lastly a bridge to land the goods dry and safe upon."⁵⁶

Whitaker, who probably lived in Jamestown throughout the summer months (his letter to Crashaw is dated from there in August), may have had his first experience at "setting" corn, a task given priority by Dale since it was already late for planting and none had been done. Alexander undoubtedly spent much time with Richard Bucke, becoming acclimated to the life of the colony and assisting in the ministerial duties in Jamestown.

Dale sat with the Council again on the following day to the end that they determined "with God's grace (after the cornes setting at the Princes Forts) to go up unto the Falls ward to search for and advise upon a seat for a new Towne."⁵⁷ That decision fashioned the future course of Whitaker's life in the colony, for he became the minister of that new town.

In September, after the return to the colony of the lieutenant-governor, Sir Thomas Gates, Dale with 300 to 350 men began to search up river toward the falls for a site for the new town.⁵⁸ A day and a half

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁵⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁸ Beverly, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

later, Dale selected a "high land, inviorned with the Mayn River, near to an Indian Town called Arsahattocke; . . . 80 (50) miles up the river from Jamestown."⁵⁹ Having already prepared much of the material, Dale had seven acres of land enclosed and fortified within seven days.⁶⁰ Three years later, Hamor described the town as having

"three streets of well framed houses, a hansom Church, and the foundation of a more stately one laid, of Brick, in length, an hundre foote, and fifty foote wide [more than twice as large as the one in Jamestown!], beside store-houses, watch houses, and such like. . . . For the further enlargement yet of this Town, on the other side of the River, by impaling likewise: for we make no other fence, is secured to our use, especially for our hogges to feede in, about twelve English miles of ground, by name *Hope in Faith*."⁶¹

The town, named Henrico for Henry, Prince of Wales, the patron both of Dale and Virginia, became the first center of Alexander's ministry. Near Henrico, Whitaker chose the "Church land, some hundred acres impaled, and a fair framed parsonage house was built thereupon, called *Rocke Hall* of this Towne."⁶² Captain James Davis was placed in "Command and government" of the town.

Before Whitaker was fairly settled in Henrico, his parish grew with the establishment of a third town, New Bermuda, begun about five miles from Henrico in December.⁶³ In February, an eighty bed hospital was begun at Mount Malado or Malady. Administering to the sick and wounded there, as well as to the "Keepers to attend them for their comfort and recoverie," must have fallen to the responsibility of Alexander's pastoral activity.

New Bermuda soon outshone Henrico. The governor had a residence there; and eventually Whitaker moved there, whence he served both communities⁶⁴ and those on the river above.⁶⁵ After a while, a Mr. Wickham, a deacon, served as an assistant to Whitaker. They do not seem to have been fixed at one community or the other permanently; for in 1616 Alexander is referred to as minister at Henrico again while Wickham served New Bermuda.⁶⁶

Concerning this Mr. Wickham, he outlived Whitaker to become a

⁵⁹ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 151.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁶¹ E. L. Pennington, *The Church of England in Colonial Virginia*, p. 18.

⁶² *Loc. cit.*

⁶³ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 209.

⁶⁴ Pennington, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁶⁵ E. L. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia*, p. 39.

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.* For Wickham, see Brydon, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 21, 26, 27-28.

member of the Council in Virginia under Governor Yeardley in 1619.⁶⁷ John Rolfe said of him that "in his life and doctrine he gave good example and godly instructions to the people."⁶⁸

As to Whitaker's ministry, although he left no diary or journal, one may make enlightened guesses as to the nature of it. He, like the other colonists, supposedly obeyed the laws which Dale, as marshal, had responsibility for enforcing. Whether the "Laws Divine, Morall, and Martiall" ever received strict enforcement seems unlikely. They, being "both impolitic and inhuman," were administered with as much mercy as possible.^{68a} Anderson says, "All that was salutary, and wise, and of good report, he (Dale) strenuously upheld; but the unjust and cruel penalties, imposed by the Articles, he would not exact."⁶⁹ The reason for leniency becomes evident as one reads the laws themselves.

Many of the laws dealt with religion, though one may question their spiritual value. For instance:⁷⁰

I. Calls upon all captains and officers "to have a care that Almighty God bee duly and daily served; and that they call upon their people to heare sermons; as that also they diligently frequent morning and evening praiers themselves."

II. Imposes a death penalty upon anyone who speaks "impiously or maliciously against the holy and blessed trinitie . . . or against the known articles of the Christian faith."

III. Invokes a death penalty for blasphemy. A second offence for cursing earned one a bodkin thrust through the tongue, while a third meant death.

IV. Provides that for any derision of God's holy word or disrespect shown to the minister, the offender "shall openly be whipt three times, and aske public forgiveness in the assembly of the congregation three severall Saboth daies."

V. Imposes six months in the gallies for any man or woman who fails three times to attend either of the two services of worship each day except the Sabbath. The failure to attend Sabbath services three times merited death.

VI. Outlines the duties of the minister; and, though it may not have been adhered to explicitly, it probably forms the pattern of Whitaker's ministry.

All preachers or ministers within this our colonie or colonies, shall in the forts where they are resident, after divine services, duly

⁶⁷ Brown, *Genesis*, p. 1053.

⁶⁸ Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

^{68a} W. S. Perry, "The Foundations of Church and State in Virginia," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, March, 1957, p. 58.

⁶⁹ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁷⁰ F. L. Hawks, *Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America*, pp. 25 f.

preach every Sabbath daie in the forenoon, and catechise in the afternoone, and weekly say the divine service twice everie daie, and preach everie Wednesday; likewise, everie minister, where he is resident, within the same fort or fortresses, towne or townes, shall chuse unto him foure of the most religious and better disposed, as well to informe of the abuses and neglects of the people in their duties and service to God, as also to the due reparation and keeping the church handsome, and fitted with all reverent observances thereunto belonging; likewise everie minister shall keep a faithful and true record or church book of all christenings, marriages, and deaths of such our people as shall happen within their fort or fortresses, towne or townes at any time, upon the burthen of a neglectful conscience, and upon pain of losing their entertainment.

If Whitaker observed this article, then his official duties consisted in his holding services twice daily, preaching on Wednesday and Sunday, catechising on Sunday afternoon, meeting with his four "wardens," and keeping the books of his parish. Article XXXIII makes every person of the colony accountable to the minister for his or her "faith and religion."

Appended to these laws and appointed to be "duly said Morning and Evening upon the Court of Guard, either by the Captain of the watch himself, or by some one of his principall officers," was a moving prayer which Whitaker heard many times. The following is extracted from it:

Seeing Thou hast honoured us to choose us out to beare thy name unto the Gentiles; we therefore beseech Thee to bless us, and this plantation, which we and our nation have begun in thy fear and for thy glory. . . . And Seeing, Lord, the highest end of our plantation here is to set up the standard and display the banner of Jesus Christ, even here where Satan's throne is, Lord, let our labor be blessed in laboring the conversion of the heathen. And because Thou usest not to work such mighty works by unholy means, Lord, sanctify our spirits and give us holy harts, that we may be thy instruments in this most glorious work. . . . And seeing by thy motion and work on our harts, we have left our warme nests at home, and put our lives into our hands, principally to honour thy name, and advance the kingdom of thy son, Lord give us leave to commit our lives into thy hands; let thy angels be about us, and let us be as angels of God sent to this people. . . . Lord bless England our sweet native country, save it from Popery, this land from heathenisme, and both from atheisme. And Lord heare their praiers for us and us for them, and Christ Jesus our glorious Mediator for us all. Amen.⁷¹

Alexander's life included more than the daily prayers and offices,

⁷¹ Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

however. In the spring of 1612, when the work at Henrico was well progressed, some of the men, "being idle," ran away to the Indians. Those whom Dale recaptured he executed "to terrify the rest from attempting the lyke."⁷² Alexander probably served as priest to these condemned men. About this same time, he rejoiced with his fellow minister, Richard Bucke, when the latter's wife gave birth to a daughter, Mara.⁷³

If Whitaker failed to learn to plant corn in the summer of his arrival, he achieved that skill during the spring of 1612; for in his "Good Newes," written later in the year, he informed his readers in England:

The earth will yeelde much more fruit to our industrial labours, as hath been proved by the Corne and other things which we have planted this last yeare. I have made prooffe of it with the help of three more, being a stranger to that business and having a body not inured to such labour, and set so much Corne *horis succisinis unius septimanae*, in the idle howers of one weeke, as will suffice me for bread one quarter of a year.⁷⁴

The passage speaks with a wonder and a sense of boyish pride in achievement which seems to say that this was Whitaker's first experience at gardening. In the same passage, he throws light on his diet by saying, "Our English seeds thrive very well heere, as Peas, Onions, Turnips, Cabbages, Coleflower, Carrets, Time, Parseley, Hysop, Majoram, and many other whereof I have tasted and eaten."⁷⁵ Along with his English vegetables, Alexander also ate fish fresh from the river. Perhaps he inherited some of the talent of his angling Great Uncle Alexander Nowell; for he confesses, "I cannot reckon nor give proper names to the divers kinds of fresh fish in our rivers; I have caught with mine angle, Pike, Carpe, Eele, Perches of sixe severall kinds, Crea-fish and the Torope or little turtle, besides many smaller kinds."⁷⁶

In the course of his pastoral duties in 1613, Alexander perpetuated his name in history by instructing and baptizing the Indian princess, Pocahontas.⁷⁷ Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas, posed a constant threat to the colonists, despite Pocahontas' friendliness toward the English. When Captain Argall, therefore, had an opportunity to capture the

⁷² Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 158.

⁷³ *Loc. cit.*

⁷⁴ Brown, *Genesis*, p. 587. Brown has here reprinted most of Whitaker's "Good Newes."

⁷⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 586.

⁷⁷ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 203.

girl in April, 1613, he did so with an eye to her bargaining power in regaining certain articles from her father. By any standard his action poorly repaid her friendship, but Argall made her a prisoner. The girl was placed in Sir Thomas Dale's keeping; and he, in turn, entrusted her instruction to his minister, Whitaker. After a time she renounced her native religion, accepted the Christian faith, and was baptized "Rebecca," becoming the first fruit of the English Church among the Indians.⁷⁸

While living in the English community, Pocahontas received the attention of another man, John Rolfe. Rolfe, a widower whose first wife had died in Virginia in 1610, was attracted to the Indian girl and found the feeling reciprocated. In the spring of 1614, Pocahontas accepted Rolfe's proposal of marriage. Rolfe informed Dale of his intention through a letter. Pocahontas, upon being visited by her brothers, reportedly declared to them with feminine logic that "if her father had loved her he would not value her less than old swords and axes, wherefore she would still dwell with the Englishmen who loved her."⁷⁹ She thereupon announced her intended marriage. Powhatan, being informed, sent Pocahontas' aged uncle, Opachisco, and two of his sons, that they might confirm his consent to the marriage and fulfill his responsibilities toward its consummation.⁸⁰

The wedding took place in Jamestown on a date now unknown. Anderson says it was performed on April 1st.⁸¹ Pennington, pointing out that April 1st fell on Maundy Thursday in 1614, claims April 5th as a far more likely date.⁸² Brown places it about the 15th of April.⁸³ It probably occurred on or shortly after April 5th.

The question remains: who actually performed the ceremony? At least one historian claims for Whitaker this distinction,⁸⁴ and evidence can be produced to give a degree of substance to the hypothesis. Alexander was obviously very close to Pocahontas herself, having been with her a great deal and having guided her into the Christian fold. It seems normal that she should have wanted him to perform the wedding. But it took place in Jamestown, not Henrico or New Bermuda. This hurdle can be overcome. Upon Gates' return to England about the first of

⁷⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁷⁹ Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁸⁰ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁸¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁸² Pennington, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁸³ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 204.

⁸⁴ Hawks, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

March, 1614,⁸⁵ Dale again became deputy-governor and moved to Jamestown where, it is reported, Whitaker accompanied him.⁸⁶ Alexander, therefore, was in Jamestown at the time of the wedding.

To the Rev. Richard Bucke, the minister of Jamestown, the performance of the marriage is, however, generally attributed.⁸⁷ Jamestown was Bucke's parish, and he and Rolfe were no less intimately associated than Whitaker and Pocahontas. Richard Bucke had baptized and then buried Rolfe's only child by his first wife, while they were shipwrecked together on Bermuda in 1610. The following year, he had buried the wife as well. The two men had lived, suffered, and worked side by side for almost five years, which in Virginia was a lifetime.

With what mind did the Englishmen regard the marriage of one of their number to an Indian? Robert Beverly says that the Indians had proposed intermarriage from the beginning. He further comments that it would have been a good thing, preventing much of the war and ill will between the two groups:

The Colony, instead of all these Losses of Men on both Sides, wou'd have been encreasing in Children to its advantage; the Country wou'd have escaped the *Odium* which undeservedly fell upon it, by the Errors and Convulsions of the first Management; and, in all Likelihood, many, if not most, of the *Indians* would have been converted to Christianity by this kind Method.⁸⁸

Alexander Whitaker's fame does not lie in his writings, for only three letters and one published sermon have survived:

- (1) A Letter to William Crashaw, dated August 9, 1611.
- (2) A Letter to Sir Thomas Smythe, Treasurer of the Virginia Company, dated July 28, 1612.
- (3) "Good Newes from Virginia," a sermon written in 1612, published in London in 1613.
- (4) A Letter to the Rev. William Gouge, dated June 18, 1614.

(1) This letter was not the first he had written his friend, Crashaw; but the others have been lost. After describing some incidences involving the Indians, he penned a passage in which the plight of the colonists cried out and found its answer and hope in a combination of God's wrath and mercy:

God hath heretofore most horribly plagued our countrimen with famine, death, the sword, etc., for the sins of our men were intol-

⁸⁵ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 202.

⁸⁶ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁸⁷ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 205.

⁸⁸ Beverly, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

erable. I marvell more that God did not sweepe them away all att once, than that he did in such manner punish them. Yet he in the midst of his anger remembered mercy, and mindeinge nowe (as we hope) to fulfill his purpose and sett up the Kingdome of his Sonne on their parts most miraculously withstood many times the purposes of our men who were retourninge home, and now againe with farre more successive proceedings and better hopes doth preserve us here.⁸⁹

(2) The letter to his distant relative, Smythe, written almost a year after the preceding one, takes the form of an exhortation delivered in a more optimistic tone:

Yea, God himselfe of purpose suffers the divell to rage thus for a while, that those that are his might bee tried. And this hath been the case hitherto of this godly plantation, this the successe. But since the affairs of this Colony have now taken better footing and are advanced by the helpes of so many honorable Adventurers, I was greatly emboldened to write these few lines of Exhortation, to encourage the noble Spirits of so many worthy men, to goe forward in Wel-doing.⁹⁰

One can hear the echo of his Puritanism in these passages.

(3) His "Good Newes," quoted previously, contains at least three other short passages worthy of note. In urging the people to support the colony, he taunts them with Romanism:

Let not the servants of superstition, that thinke to merit by their good workes (as they terme them) goe beyond us in well doing; neither let them be able to open their mouths against us, and to condemne the religion of our protestation, for want of charitable deeds.⁹¹

His statement concerning the evangelization of the Indians speaks for itself:

If we were once the masters of their Countrey, and they stood in feare of us (which might with few hands employed about nothing else, be in short time brought to passe) it were an easie matter to make them willingly to forsake the divell, to embrace the faith of Jesus Christ, and to be baptised. Besides, you cannot easilie judge how much they would be available to us in our discoveries of the Countrey, in our buildings and plantings, and quiet provisions for ourselves, when we may peaceably passe from place to place without neede of armes or garde.⁹²

⁸⁹ Brown, *Genesis*, p. 499.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 578.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 581.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 585.

Before being too hard on Alexander for this approach, one should remember that one of his successors in Virginia wrote, "Till their Priests and Ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conversion."⁹³

As an inducement to Englishmen for their support of the colony, he prods them with scorn and then dangles riches before them:

Yea, shall we be a scorne among Princes, and a laughing stock among our neighbour Nations, for basely leaving what we honorably began; yea, for beginning a Discoverie, which riches other men shall gather, so soone as we have forsaken it? Awake you true hearted Englishmen, you servants of Jesus Christ, remember that the Plantation is God's, and the reward your countries.⁹⁴

Dale, in a strikingly similar passage written to Sir Thomas Smythe, expresses this same idea in a nobler and more sincere manner:

Let me tell you all at home this one thing, and I pray you remember it; if you give over this country and loose it, you, with your wisdoms, will leap such a gudgeon as our state hath not done the like since they lost the Kingdom of France; be not gulled with the clamorous report of base people; believe Caleb and Joshua; if the glory of God have no power with them and the conversion of these poor infidels, yet let the rich mammons' desire egge them on to inhabit these countries. I protest unto you, by the faith of an honest man, the more I range the country the more I admire it. I have seen the best countries in Europe; I protest to you, before the living God, put them all together, this country will be equivalent unto them if it be inhabitant with good people.⁹⁵

Crashaw's *Epistle Dedicatorie* was affixed to the London publication of the *Good Newes*. In it he describes the sermon as a "plaine, but pithie and godly exhortation, interlaced with narrations of many particulars, touching the Countrey, climate, and commodities worthie to be known of all."⁹⁶

(4) This letter is known to the writer only in quotations previously noted.

V

Conclusion and Evaluation

Alexander Whitaker continued to serve the people of Henrico, New Bermuda, and the communities up river, until his death in the

⁹³ Brown, *The First Republic*, p. 418.

⁹⁴ Brown, *Genesis*, p. 582.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 639.

⁹⁶ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

spring of 1617. Nothing is known of the details of his death, there being no notice of it except for memoranda of a letter from Governor Argall to the Company managers simply stating, "Want ministers, Mr. Whitaker being drowned."⁹⁷ He served the young colony faithfully for almost six years.

After his death, his name became the center of a most unexpected kind of controversy. When Captain John Martin sailed to England with Dale in the spring of 1616, he left a Henry Coltman to plant his land at Charles City in corn and tobacco, under the supervision of his friend, Whitaker. Alexander sent his servant, John Flood, to help Coltman. Then in March, 1617, Whitaker died. When Martin returned the following May, he found no corn. Holding Governor Yeardeley responsible for his loss, Martin sued him; and some of the records of the case have survived.

"The Governor deposed that he had turned over Whitaker's property to his servant Thomas Hobson, 'who was *as his son and child kept by him* in his life time,' and that Hobson had used the corn in feeding himself, Jarrett Hollock, John Flood, and one Reuben, the other servants of Mr. Whitaker. Martha Sizemoure, who lived at Mr. Whitaker's house both before and at the time of his death, knew nothing of his owing Martin any corn, and stated that Mr. Whitaker had been obliged to buy corn for himself from Thomas Dowse."⁹⁸

Apparently Alexander never did learn to "sett" corn properly.

About a year after Whitaker's death, his sister entered the colony making "enquiry after the goods of her deceased brother, but found that he left little of value behind him."⁹⁹ Little wonder, after the litigation over the corn, that she found nothing!

The colony had not heard the last of the Whitakers. A Lieutenant Whitaker, probably Jabez, Alexander's half-brother, is mentioned as being in Virginia in 1621. Jabez Whitaker appears by name on documents issued by the General Assembly of Virginia in 1624, when he sat in the House of Burgess representing "Elizabeth City beyond the Hampton River," along with one Raleigh Crashaw. Perhaps this was the son of Alexander's friend, William Crashaw. Jabez' name again appears in 1626 on a list of the Council in Virginia appointed by Charles I.¹⁰⁰

What evaluation can be placed on the life and ministry of Alex-

⁹⁷ Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁹⁸ Brown, *The First Republic*, pp. 240f.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 571.

ander Whitaker? By no stretching of the evidence can one fashion a picture of Whitaker as a great preacher, or minister, or thinker. His fame lies in the fact that he happened to be in Virginia at a given time. Perhaps that is his secret and his greatness, that he "happened" to be serving as best he knew how in a place where less courageous souls dared not go, at a time when less committed men chose to settle amid the folds of security and draw their lines in pleasant places.

Book Reviews

I. American Church History and Biography

Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History. Edited by James Morton Smith. (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1959. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va.). 238 pp.

This volume deserves the careful attention of Episcopalians. It ascribes an important influence to the Anglican Church in shaping emergent American civilization. Its nine essays, by specialists, closely study various aspects of colonial life, such as adjustment of the people to their environment, and the development of new attitudes toward politics, social order, and religion. The essays as a whole portray early American society, and were skillfully arranged for this purpose by the editor, a lecturer in history at the College of William and Mary, and editor of publications at the Institute of Early American History and Culture.

For Episcopalians, the chief attraction is the three essays: "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," by William H. Seiler; "The Church in New England Society," by Emil Oberholzer, Jr.; and "The Anglican Church in Restoration Colonial Policy," by Philip S. Haffenden.

Seiler stresses the Puritan character of the early Virginia Church, and the importance of its lay government in the absence of a colonial bishop. The emergence of a ruling class, in the parish vestry, consolidated the position of the Church as an agent of social discipline and of education, and caused a parallel growth of ecclesiastical and political independence.

Oberholzer indicates the difference between the Anglican state Church of Virginia and the Puritan Congregational churches of New England. The latter were, strictly speaking, not established churches, but cooperated with the secular government, which in itself was a theocracy. Churches, however, set the community's standard of conduct and, in their control over morals, performed quasi-judicial functions.

Haffenden's essay demonstrates that imperial policy never evolved a well-ordered ecclesiastical system, and that it favored the politically expedient rather than the ideally desirable. It favored toleration to promote colonial development, and considered the Anglican Church as a bond of empire, a guaranty of loyalty, and a teacher of civil obedience.

These lucidly written and well-documented essays present colonial religion as a factor making for order and culture in the nascent period of American civilization. The bibliographical references in the footnotes comprehend a wide range of scholarly writing and original sources.

*The Library of Congress,
Washington, D. C.*

NELSON R. BURR.



Ordeal of Faith: The Crisis of Church-Going America, 1865-1900. By Francis P. Weisenburger. (New York, [Philosophical Library], 1959), pp. VIII + 380. \$6.00.

Professor Weisenburger has made an interesting new approach to a much discussed subject. The period he selected is characterized by the coincidence of "rapid scientific progress, urban growth, and intellectual adjustment" (p. vii) to technological changes. His intention is "to summarize the conflicts in American religious thought as they existed in 1865 and then to trace through the life stories of hundreds of individuals the adjustments which were made to changing currents of thought" — a method similar to that of Sir Lewis Namier's notable new studies on the English Parliament. The book is a work of love and immense diligence, based on a large amount of sources and on acquaintance with the whole of the vast literature of the field. Dealing with all the important Church bodies and religious organizations outside of the churches, the author has loyally fulfilled his promise of rigid objectivity; there is not even a hint indicating his own religious affiliation.

The result is a vivid picture of our religious pluralism, of the trends and currents within the individual communions, of rapprochements and estrangements between them, and of the "flexibility of American religious life." Conversions and changes from one communion to the other appear in larger numbers than the non-specialist reader would expect: from the Protestant ministry to the Roman Catholic episcopate; from Anglicanism through Methodism to Unitarianism; from Unitarianism to Anglicanism; from Presbyterianism to Agnosticism and on to Swedenborgianism, and many more.

On the other hand, there is valuable detail for the history of strict orthodoxy, sometimes going to extremes, as in the amazing statement made by a Calvinistic-minded Congregational theologian in 1865 that anyone who has studied theology for three years and has read the Bible in the original languages was either a Calvinist or "not a respectable man" (p. 235). The heresy trials and religious witch-hunts get their due.

One of the central problems of the book is the relation of religion and modern science; the new theology, as well as the theory of evolution.

As early as in the 1840's the first adoptions of higher criticism were made by Unitarians; on the other hand, in 1875 a Congregational clerical conference still considered the discovery of the spuriousness of I John 5, 8 (the Three) as unfit to be told to the layman.

The influence of Darwin's discovery was about the same as in England in the 1860's and 1870's: cautious acceptance by some, violent rejection by many others. A precious sample of the latter class which Professor Weisenburger found in a provincial Catholic paper of 1871 deserves to be quoted here: a suggestion that "Darwin had to his pecuniary advantage perpetrated a huge hoax upon the learned world" (p. 68). The English "Harmonists" of the 1830's, who tried to reconcile old theology and new science, found successors in America. Special

professorships for the harmony of science and religion existed in Princeton, Oberlin, and Columbia, South Carolina.

These few specimens must suffice here to give an idea of the abundance of information which Professor Weisenburger offers. The book is perhaps even a little too rich; the author is untiring in his presentation of individual cases, and so introduces hundreds and hundreds of *dramatis personae*, many of whom could have been omitted without damaging the whole. Consequently, the book is not easy to read from cover to cover; yet nobody concerned with American religion or Church history can afford to ignore it. It can be put to very good use by browsing, which will always be rewarded by the discovery of stimulating detail, and by consulting the index as a key to otherwise less easily accessible data on individual persons.

The work has the charm of a large family album of photographs. It gives the pleasure of discovering the portraits of ancestors, family friends and acquaintances, and arouses curiosity about faces never seen before.

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Viewpoints: Some Aspects of Anglican Thinking. Edited by John B. Coburn and W. Norman Pittenger. Greenwich, Conn., Seabury Press, 1959. Pp. xii + 267. \$5.00.

This is a symposium, with a Foreword by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Robert F. Gibson, Jr., Bishop Coadjutor of Virginia. No less than nineteen contributors, besides the two editors, who provide the Introduction, deal with as many different subjects, all pertaining to the current thought and life and work of our American Episcopal Church. The subjects treated cover Biblical, theological, and liturgical studies, Church history, pastoral theology, the work of the ministry and of the laity, the devotional life, Christian apologetics, Christianity and the intellectual, Christian ethics, Christian education, the Church and psychology, preaching today, the missionary program of the Church, and Christian reunion.

Inevitably, as in any anthology or symposium, there are unevennesses in the various contributions; and if it is the hope of the Seabury Press that this book will be read by the lay leadership of the Church (yes, and by the rank and file of the clergy), we fear this hope will remain unfulfilled because of the price of the volume. This is too bad, because the symposium gives us a very hopeful and encouraging picture of the alertness and vigor with which our younger leaders are grappling with the various problems, intellectual and practical, which confront the Church today—all in the best Anglican tradition, which combines authority and freedom. There is much in it that is calculated to

arouse the intellectual lethargy of our clergy and to challenge the ingrained complacency of the laity.

We are grateful to Prof. William A. Clebsch for his reference, in his essay on "Church History," to the contribution which is being made by the Church Historical Society and the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE in promoting interest in our own Church history and in collecting and preserving the archives of the American Church.

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II. English and General Church History

An Era in Anglican Theology. From Gore to Temple. The Development of Anglican Theology between *Lux Mundi* and the Second World War, 1889-1939. (The Hale Memorial Lectures of Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1959.) By Arthur Michael Ramsey, D.D., Archbishop of York. Scribners. Pp. x, 192. \$3.50.

Within the relatively brief compass of 200 pages, the Most Rev. Arthur Michael Ramsey, D.D., Archbishop of York, packs the fruit of wide reading, careful reflection, and shrewd theological judgment.

As the subtitle indicates, the period covered is that from the publication of the epoch-making *Lux Mundi* (1889) under the editorship of Charles Gore, later Bishop successively of Worcester, Birmingham, and Oxford, to the year of the outbreak of World War II (1939), when William Temple, soon to become Archbishop of Canterbury, was at the height of his fame. Dr. Ramsey's survey, therefore, covers a period of half a century, with the digressionary overlapping inevitable in any such historical study.

Dr. Ramsey sees this as a significant period in the development of Anglican thinking. It was, to be sure, the period in which adjustment was made on two fronts to the impact of modern thought—that of the new evolutionary theory and of the higher criticism of the Bible. Beginning with Gore himself and ending with Temple, Dr. Ramsey presents an imposing procession of Anglican worthies as they grapple with this twofold problem in relation to the historic doctrines of the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Church, and the inspiration of Holy Scripture.

Henry Scott Holland, J. B. Mozely, Lionel Thornton, J. F. Bethune-Baker, C. E. Raven, Frank Weston, N. P. Williams, E. G. Selwyn, J. M. Creed, K. E. Kirk, Hastings Rashdall, O. C. Quick, B. H. Streeter, T. A. Lacey, W. R. Inge, A. E. Taylor, Will Spens, A. E. J. Rawlinson, W. L. Knox, E. C. Hoskyns, these names—and many others—are probably nowhere else brought together in so coherent a unity, the strengths and weaknesses of their several positions so fairly assessed.

To give but one example: After devoting Chapter Nine ("The Re-

covery of the Bible") largely to an appreciation of the work of E. C. Hoskyns (1884-1937), Dr. Ramsey says of Hoskyns' commentary on the Fourth Gospel:

"It is no less serious criticism that, the problem of authorship receiving little examination, questions about historicity are somewhat evaded. Allowing that history means fact plus meaning, and that the Fourth Gospel is concerned with meaning, it is none the less inevitable to ask, more pressingly than Hoskyns ever asked, what happened and what does the evangelist himself believe to have happened" (p. 140).

The present reviewer may perhaps be pardoned for adding that this was substantially his own reaction to working through Hoskyns' commentary a few years ago.

Dr. Ramsey purports to deal with the development of *Anglican* theology (see subtitle). However, the only theologians included are from the British Isles. Beyond a couple of passing references to W. Norman Pittenger (who hardly falls within the period indicated) and the reference to the "Lambeth Quadrilateral, whose origin in the United States as the Chicago Quadrilateral of 1886 is an honored event in the history of the American Church," the reader looks in vain for the mention of American Anglican theologians.

It is true, of course, that the bulk of Anglican theological writing does stem from British sources. It seems a pity, however, in view of a growing worldwide Anglican consciousness, and of the fact that the Lectures were delivered on American soil, that no American Anglicans are included in Dr. Ramsey's survey.

W. P. DuBose (d. 1918), whose work was largely on Christology and Soteriology, had quite a vogue in England at one time. Southerners, especially, will be disappointed to find no mention of him in *An Era in Anglican Theology*.

F. J. Hall (d. 1932) was perhaps not a creative theologian, but his 10-volume *Dogmatic Theology* is without counterpart in the English Church. Broadly speaking, he may be said to stand in the Gore tradition. He might, therefore, appropriately have been mentioned as representative of that viewpoint on the other side of the Atlantic.

Dr. Ramsey says that "Form Criticism, in vogue in Germany since 1918, hardly made itself felt in England until the nineteen-thirties" (p. 135). It was Burton Scott Easton, however, who introduced it to American Churchmen through the Paddock Lectures of 1927, subsequently published as *The Gospel Before the Gospels*. Unless I am gravely mistaken, this was the only treatment of the subject in English for some years to come. It is interesting in this connection to recall the story that circulated at the General Theological Seminary in the early 1930's: Easton, asked to contribute to the Gore *Commentary on Holy Scripture* and told that his material would, of course, be subject to editing, said "Nothing doing"—which is why he is not represented in that volume.

It does seem a pity that there is thus this gap in a work otherwise so well planned and carried through. Or is the British insularity, which the Archbishop deplors in other connections, not quite a thing of the past?

Be that as it may, *An Era in Anglican Theology* is an indispensable guide for anyone dealing with the thought of the period covered. It could well be used as a syllabus and collection of reviews for the reading (or re-reading) of some of the "great books" treated of in its pages.

FRANCIS C. LIGHTBOURN.*



The Man of Ten Talents. By J. Bromley. London, S.P.C.K., 1959. Pp. vii + 253. 25 shillings.

This very well written biography by the rector of Theale, Berks., bears the sub-title "A Portrait of Richard Chenevix Trench, 1807-86. Philologist, Poet, Theologian, Archbishop." In none of these four facets of his career did our subject attain first rank; but as the reader reads the book, he is introduced to a very estimable worthy of the Victorian era about whom no definitive biography has previously been written.

Richard Chenevix Trench was an Anglo-Irishman of aristocratic family connections, born in Dublin in the opening years of the last century. He owed much in his formative years to his mother, Melesina St. George (*nee* Chenevix), a very gifted and remarkable woman of cosmopolitan tastes who had spent much time on the continent, had the entree to the highest court circles at home and abroad, and yet never compromised her Christian principles as the daughter of a clergyman and the granddaughter of an Irish bishop. Trench's father was her second husband, to whom she bore seven children, some of whom died in childhood. Deeply religious, she wrote several small volumes of verse and a posthumously printed book entitled *Thoughts of a Parent on Education*, which begins with the sentence: "The first object of education is to train an immortal soul." Many years later her son published her *Letters and Remains* as an act of filial piety.

At Cambridge, where Richard C. Trench entered Trinity College in 1825, he was introduced into the brilliant society known as "The Apostles," whose contemporary members included Frederick Denison Maurice, Arthur Hallam, Richard Monckton Milnes, and Alfred Tennyson.

On his graduation in 1829, young Trench traveled in Spain and Italy. Always very fond of the Spanish people (he became an authority on the Spanish poet Calderon), the youthful Trench was influenced by ardent spirits among his Cambridge associates to cast his lot with an ill-fated expedition of Spanish revolutionists.

Returning to England a sadder but a wiser man, he began preparation for holy orders, married a cousin, Frances Mary Trench, and on Oct. 7, 1832, was ordained deacon in Norwich Cathedral. Disappointed

* Fr. Lightbourn is literary editor of *The Living Church*.—Editor's note.

in the curacy which he expected, in January 1833 he became curate to Hugh James Rose at Hadleigh in Suffolk. Rose's strong churchmanship left its mark on Trench; but though the famous "Hadleigh Conference," which initiated the Oxford Movement, was held that summer, Trench was never a Tractarian. He remained a conservative High Churchman of the same type as his friend, Samuel Wilberforce. Of a peace-loving, reconciling temperament, he in later years defended his friend Maurice when attacked for heresy and was a lifelong friend and correspondent of Thomas Carlyle, though differing *toto caelo* from both of them. Ordained priest by Charles Richard Sumner, Bishop of Winchester, in the summer of 1835, Trench spent several years in that diocese as a parish priest and examining chaplain.

In 1841, his *Notes on the Parables* appeared—significantly in the same year as the *furore* caused by the appearance of Newman's *Tract 90*. But while the Tractarians found a polemical use for the Church Fathers, Trench's book summoned men to a more fruitful use of the Fathers in Biblical studies, in which field he may be said to have been a forerunner of the great Cambridge trio—Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort. In his book on the Parables and in his later book on the Miracles of our Lord, Trench pursued (as in all his theological writing) a course of conservative orthodoxy, uninfluenced by German rationalism, the higher criticism, or the rising din of warfare between science and religion.

His ecclesiastical career included the incumbency of the parish of Itchenstoke (1844-56), and concurrently a professorship of divinity at King's College, London (where his friend Maurice startled the English religious world with his radical views on eternal punishment), and a post as examining chaplain under his other friend, Samuel Wilberforce, now Bishop of Oxford. Wilberforce's manipulations for the recognition and preferment of Trench caused the latter no little embarrassment. In 1856, Trench received recognition by appointment to the deanship of Westminster Abbey, which in those days was looked upon as "a place of learned leisure." Trench's tenure of the deanery was comparatively undistinguished. He was not an effective preacher, though his published sermons read well; and it remained for his successor, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, to make the Abbey pulpit a factor in English religious life, and to do for the Abbey what Dean Church and his associates did for St. Paul's.

On January 1, 1864, Trench was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin, having been named by Lord Palmerston to succeed Dr. Richard Whately. His twenty-one years in the archbishopric were years of storm and stress, during which Trench vigorously and unsuccessfully fought the disestablishment of the Irish Church, offended the ultra-Protestant laity by his tolerance of mild ceremonial enrichment of the services and his opposition to evening celebrations of the Holy Communion, forwarded the reconstruction of the Church's life and work after disestablishment, and exercised a powerful restraining influence in the revision of the Irish Prayer Book. He was keenly conscious of the historic continuity of the Church of Ireland with the primitive Celtic Catholic Church,

and was resolved that the High Church position should not be made untenable by the elimination of the more "catholic" element in Anglican worship.

Resigning his archbishopric on account of his health on November 28, 1884, he did not long survive his retirement, but died in London on March 28, 1886, and was fittingly buried in Westminster Abbey. A devoted family man, his wife, Frances Mary, survived him five and a half years. Several children pre-deceased the parents; but no less than seven sons and daughters lived well into the 20th century.

As a philologist, Trench was strictly an amateur rather than a specialist. *The Study of Words* has gone through many editions and has stimulated much popular interest in the history of words and their use. As a member of the Philological Society, Trench made a valuable contribution by his ardent championship of what later became the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Trench's verse may be found in several anthologies; but as a poet he did not attain immortality. He was deeply influenced by Wordsworth, and like Wordsworth wrote many sonnets. His verse is pervaded by a pensive melancholy, expressing a Christian faith which is deep and tranquil rather than exultant, conveying the lesson of elevation through sorrow. In a very real sense, Trench's verse reveals the man himself—a man whose spirit F. W. H. Myers described as "by nature mournful, by conviction and courage serene, dwelling, as it were, beneath the pressure, but in the light, of Eternity."

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The Blind Seer: George Matheson. By John Crew Tyler. New York, Philosophical Library, 1959. Pp. xi + 175. \$4.75.

Dr. Tyler, pastor of the Central Brick Presbyterian Church, East Orange, New Jersey, has put much time and research into the preparation of this volume, which evaluates the theological thought, preaching, and poetry of the blind poet-preacher who is best known throughout English-speaking Christendom as the author of the hymn, *O Love that wilt not let me go*. In a sense, this volume supplements the definitive biography of Matheson written a number of years ago by Donald Macmillan.

It is pointed out that, though his defective sight began in infancy, Matheson was never totally blind. He had periods of sight when he could read in bright daylight; and there were times when his friends imagined that he "not only saw them, but saw through them!" Possessed of a first-class intellect, with mental alertness and readiness of speech, he graduated in 1861, with high distinction in philosophy, from the University of Glasgow, and in 1862 entered Divinity Hall, where John Caird had recently come as professor of divinity. Caird's Hegelian-

ism and the struggle towards a just appreciation of German theology and scientific advance contributed to making Matheson the Broad Churchman he remained all his life.

Licensed by the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland in 1866, after a short probationary period he was ordained April 8, 1868, and given a small rural charge at Innellan, Argyshire, where his gifts as a preacher, poet, mystic, and theologian attracted increasing attention. In 1885, he was summoned to preach before Queen Victoria in Crathie parish church, while the queen was in residence at Balmoral Castle. Honors and recognition came thick and fast. He was appointed Baird Lecturer for 1881, delivered the St. Giles' Lecture at Edinburgh (on *Confucianism*) in 1882, and in 1901 the Murtle Lecture at Aberdeen on *The Problem of Job's Patience*. In 1899, he felt obliged to decline, on grounds of failing health, the Gifford Lectureship at Aberdeen.

In 1886, he was inducted to a new charge, St. Bernard's, Edinburgh, to serve one of the wealthiest, largest, and best educated congregations in the Church of Scotland. Here he remained, with increasing popularity and effectiveness, as one of the great preachers of the Scottish Kirk until 1899, when he resigned to give the rest of his life to study, authorship, and special preaching. He died August 28, 1906—and the hymn that he wrote at Innellan, *O Love that wilt not let me go*, was sung throughout Scotland the following Sunday in nearly all the churches of whatever denomination.

Theologically, Matheson exemplified the emancipation from rigid Calvinistic dogma represented by the Cairds, Fairbairn, H. R. Mackintosh, and others. Though not a systematic theologian, his presentation of Christian doctrine gained force by the attractiveness of his style. Basically orthodox in his doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, his doctrine of the Atonement shows affinity to that developed by the Anglican, R. C. Moberly. He did not sentimentalize the love of God—after all, it comes to us through the Cross of Christ. Convinced of the supreme truth of Christianity, he was nevertheless sympathetic to the facets of truth found in other great religions.

A chapter on Matheson as a preacher reveals alike his versatility and the extraordinary output of devotional literature which accompanied his preaching ministry. It was said of him that "He could *feel* a crowd, and a large congregation drew from him his very best." Our author equates him with those great giants of the Scottish pulpit, Thomas Chalmers and John Caird. And his biographer, Macmillan, with pardonable hyperbole, claimed for him one of the most unique ministries, not only in the Church of Scotland for his own generation, but in the Church of Christ during the Christian era.

George Matheson resembled John Keble in being a poet writing on religious themes rather than a pure hymnist. He began writing verse in boyhood. He had a particular fondness for the poems of Burns and Tennyson. Most of his poetic imagery was more or less conventionally Biblical; but there is more nature poetry than one would expect from one who was blind. His poetry is intensely personal and employed a

variety of forms. It is uncertain whether the poem (or hymn) by which he is best known was written in 1881 or 1882. Dr. Tyler, in his analysis of it, brings out its various sub-themes and indicates how it was born out of the author's spiritual experience. He gives us numerous examples of the hymn's popularity. He concludes that Matheson possessed no slight ability as a lyrical poet, and if he did not attain greater distinction in that field, it was because he never took himself seriously as a poet.

We laid down this book grateful to its author for having introduced us so thoroughly, yet withal so charmingly, to one of the most winsome and attractive personalities of Scottish Christianity.

E. H. ECKEL.



A History of the S.P.C.K. By W. K. Lowther Clarke. London, S.P.C.K., 1959. Pp. ix + 244. 21s. net.

American Churchpeople will find a special interest in this well printed and illustrated book, not only because of the intimate association of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge with the S.P.G. in the fostering care of our Church in colonial times, but also because of the increasingly effective liaison of the S.P.C.K. with our own Seabury Press in recent years.

And certainly no one was better qualified to write such a history than Dr. Lowther Clarke, who served as secretary of the Society from 1915 to 1944. Dr. Clarke is best known in this country as the editor of *Liturgy and Worship* and the author of *A Concise Bible Commentary*, both published under the aegis of the S.P.C.K. The present volume represents many years of research by one who had command of practically all the available resources.

On the background of the Church life of the Restoration period and the reign of William and Mary, our author indicates the affinity of the S.P.C.K. to the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (or Morals) which flourished during those turbulent years. He introduces Dr. Thomas Bray (whose portrait in color serves as the frontispiece of the book) and sketches his career as parish priest, commissary of the Bishop of London in Maryland, and founder of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. We are given intimate glimpses into the early operations of the Society, its charity schools, its East India Mission (whereby for more than a century it supported Danish and German Lutheran missionaries until the consecration of the first Anglican bishops for India), its parish lending libraries in the colonies and at home, its publication and distribution of books and tracts. The Society not only distributed Prayer Books, but also published and distributed Bibles containing the Apocrypha. During the 18th century, it published and distributed the Prayer Book, the Bible, and other literature in Welsh, Manx, Irish, Gaelic, and French. With the spread of Anglican missionary work during the 19th and 20th centuries, the Society has fostered the publication of the Prayer Book and other literature in about 170 different languages and dialects.

We review the activities of the Society among the French Protestants who settled in Britain after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1684, its part in the colonization of Georgia, its mission in the Scilly Islands. We follow the changing methods and policies of the Society as it adapted itself to 19th century conditions—its assistance to Church training colleges, its missionary grants and work among emigrants, its publishing and bookselling.

An Epilogue written by the present director of the Society, the Rev. F. N. Davey, brings the story down to date and shows how, with unimpaired vitality, the S.P.C.K. now concentrates on education and literature, the latter including all kinds of aids to education, such as pictures and films. We are gratified to learn that "the yearly contributions from its supporters are now over £30,000, apart from legacies. And the combined publishing and bookselling operations are approaching £1,000,000 a year." There are several appendices, including one on Pitcairn Island which will interest all who are familiar with Nordhoff and Hall's *Bounty Trilogy*.

The English price of this book is listed at 21 shillings. We imagine it can be obtained through the Seabury Press for \$5 or \$6.

E. H. ECKEL.



The Mass and the English Reformers. By C. W. Dugmore, D.D., London, Macmillan (New York, St. Martin's Press), 1958. Pp. xiv + 262. \$8.50.

This beautifully printed and illustrated work by Dr. Dugmore, professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of London (King's College), bids fair to be definitive in its appraisal of the changes made in the English Liturgy in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. In answer to all who would over-simplify the change in worship by asserting categorically that the Reformers "abolished the Mass" and set up the Lord's Supper in its place, Dr. Dugmore successfully shows how the Reformers actually "revived a part of the ancient tradition of the Church which had been suppressed in the interests of 'uniformity' from the thirteenth century onwards, though the tradition itself had never really died." In other words, Cranmer and his associates "did not invent a liturgy out of their own heads, nor did they simply copy any of the liturgies of the newly emerged protestant churches of the continent: rather, they set out to recover something which had been lost to catholic Christianity during the Middle Ages." Of course, they appealed to the same Scriptures and primitive Fathers as did the continental Reformers, and to some degree their conclusions were not dissimilar. But their whole approach was different.

Part I of the book is a careful survey of the Eucharistic theology of the early Fathers and the Schoolmen. Here our author distinguishes the realist-symbolism of the Augustinian tradition from the Ambrosian

tradition that the sacrament is perfected by consecration rather than by use.

From the Ambrosian tradition the mediaeval Western Church developed the doctrine of transubstantiation and the concept of the re-implication of Christ in every mass. With interesting illustrations of the persistence of the Augustinian tradition through the Middle Ages, our author traces the increasing prevalence of the Ambrosian tradition, characterized by a localizing of the Presence, a growing emphasis on the moment of consecration, a decline in the frequency of communion, the idea of the Mass as a distinct sacrifice in itself, and the cultus of the reserved sacrament.

Part II surveys the English Reformers and their work. A chapter is given to the study of Catholicism in England under Henry VIII. Henrician Catholicism sought to retain the mediaeval system without the Pope. Reformed Catholicism, represented by Cranmer, Latimer, and others, advocated changes in doctrine and discipline and the reformation of abuses such as the sale of masses, worship of images, etc. But there was as yet no significant change in Eucharistic doctrine.

Dr. Dugmore regrets that in their rejection of the sacrifice of masses the reformers in Edward's reign jettisoned the wholly scriptural belief in the High Priestly work of Christ, with its corollary of the Church, through Christ as its Head, pleading in the heavenly places the Sacrifice once offered upon the Cross. This he regards as a theological blind spot which marred the Reformed Catholic position until the Caroline Divines had recovered something of what was lost.

Dr. Dugmore takes issue, however, with the late Dom Gregory Dix by maintaining that, despite pressure from the continental reformers, Cranmer did *not* succumb to Zwinglian doctrine, but adhered to the Augustinian tradition even in the compilation of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI and the XLII Articles, neither of which received the sanction of Convocation. Whether he and the other Reformed Catholics could have stood out much longer against the radical reformers is doubtful; but the question was decided by the death of the sickly boy-king and the accession of Mary to the throne.

An interesting chapter compares and contrasts the Eucharistic teaching of Cranmer and Gardiner. Both agreed that Christ is present as consecrator in every Eucharist; but to Cranmer, drawing on the Western mediaeval liturgical tradition in which he had been brought up, "the *raison d'être* of every Mass, Eucharist, or Lord's Supper was communion, a real partaking of the body and blood of Christ."

The final chapter on "Elizabeth and the Beginnings of Anglicanism" recognizes that Mary had come to the throne "just in time to prevent the English Church from being engulfed by Zwinglianism under Northumberland, but she had tried to put the clock back too far." Elizabeth's accession was welcomed with relief. In the Church Settlement which followed, Jewel, Hooker, and others successfully withstood the sacramentarian attacks on the liturgy. Though deprecating over-precise definition of the nature of the Eucharistic Presence, they taught

clearly and unmistakably that the sacrament is not a bare sign in which nothing is received but common bread. "There is a double eating, for as the bread and wine are received by the outward sense, *vere et efficaciter* the body and blood of Christ are received inwardly, by faith and 'through the working of God's Spirit,' by the worthy receiver."

Our author concludes:

"If the mediaeval Church took hold of the realist Ambrosian tradition and developed it into a logical system of sacramental theology, it was the merit of the English Reformers that they restored to the Western Church the other, equally ancient, realist symbolist Augustinian tradition and enshrined it in a vernacular liturgy which has profoundly affected the whole English-speaking world."

E. H. ECKEL.



The South African Liturgy: The Story of the Revision of the Rite and Its Consecration Prayer. By Peter Hinchliff. Oxford University Press, Capetown, 1960. Pp. 123. \$3.40.

One of the more encouraging liturgical developments since the 19th century has been the revision of the Eucharistic rite in the Church of the Province of South Africa. Now Mr. Hinchliff, the subwarden of St. Paul's College, Grahamstown, tells us of the history of this revision and a little of the men who made it possible.

If Mr. Hinchliff re-evaluates the contribution of such indigenous liturgiologists as Canon Gould and the Rev. J. S. Bazeley, to diminish slightly the status accorded them by popular opinion, he does bring their names and their work into the light. It is Bishop Walter Frere, C.R., who emerges as the more significant contributor, just as his liturgical knowledge was more significant than that of informed amateurs.

The need for change is felt, and local conditions seem to demand it, and in 1911 systematic revision was begun. Frere's influence was first felt through his work, *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform*, but the first concrete step was shared by Gould and Bazeley in their *Proposals for the Revision of the Anaphora*. It seems that this essay affected the deliberations of the South African bishops. The interval of World War I halted progress, and after it Frere's contributions became more important: the high water mark of his influence was the *Alternative Form* of 1919. The final revision seems to be the remnants of this *Form*, after the concessions made by the bishops to adverse criticism.

Such criticism as came from Darragh and Hodson is revealing in its ignorance. Mr. Hinchliff shows us the poverty of Anglican thinking in liturgical matters. It is a sad commentary that the "authorities" the revisers turned to, such as W. C. Bishop and Fortescue, are themselves not foremost men. Not once is that monumental authority, Edmund Bishop, mentioned, nor the significant Benedictine scholars, only Fortescue, of whom Frere was wont to remark, "the only original part of

Fortescue is his mistakes." So in the argument over the *Epiklesis* and the Consecration Prayer, we find the saddest Anglican confusions, both theologically and liturgically. In so far as we may learn by the mistakes of others, this history is salutary to anyone interested and concerned about the revision of the Eucharistic Rite.

One hopes that this informing and competently written study will be both a stimulant and a warning in matters liturgical. In particular, it reveals an Anglican neglect of continental liturgical studies, which since World War II has begun to be remedied. Perhaps Mr. Hinchliff's study will establish the need for a wider sensitivity to liturgical scholarship.

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The Use of Lights in Christian Worship (Alcuin Club Collections No. XLI). By D. R. Dendy. London: S.P.C.K., 1959. xiii, 197 pages. 30s.

This monograph is a marvellous example of the antiquarian type of research in religious ceremonial that stemmed from the "Ritualistic" controversies of a century ago, the effects of which reached such dramatic climax in the famous Lincoln judgment of 1890. Apart from its very real merits as a contribution to the history of one of the byways of ceremonial, the book has perhaps a pertinent relevance today simply because so many clergy and laity are still aroused—if not by the use of lights in worship—at least by the number of lights that are to be used at any particular service, and the way in which they are to be placed and used. The conclusion, of course, is obvious: one can find precedent for almost any number and any use, with reasons both practical and symbolic. The book is a veritable mine of information, and those who are concerned with the question will find here detailed materials covering almost every conceivable situation.

The fact that this work is sponsored by the Alcuin Club is sufficient testimony to its trustworthiness as a guide, and that it is implicitly, if not explicitly, a support to the tasteful "English Use" which this society sponsors for Anglican worship. To make it complete, it needs only to be supplemented by a chapter on the use of lights in the Protestant Episcopal Church—an apt subject for a conscientious student's thesis for the Master's degree. Frankly, because of my own special interests perhaps, I found the book interesting and enjoyable.

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Christendom. By Einar Molland. New York, Philosophical Library, 1959. Pp. xiv + 418. \$10.

Dr. Molland, professor of ecclesiastical history at the University of Oslo, first published this work in Norwegian in 1953 as "a survey of all the Christian Churches throughout the world, their doctrines, constitutional forms, and ways of worship." It was dedicated to the faculty of theology of the University of Durham, which conferred on the author an honorary Doctorate of Divinity in the year of its publication. Prof. S. L. Greenslade writes a Foreword to the English edition. The author, in his Preface, acknowledges his indebtedness not only to Canon Greenslade, but also to Father H. E. Symonds, C.R., and Canon H. E. W. Turner, the last of whom re-wrote, when necessary, the author's English to make it more idiomatic, and added other material and footnotes to supplement, amplify, or modify the author's text.

Dr. Molland can hardly be said to have surveyed "all the Christian Churches throughout the world," but he has been quite successful in covering all of the principal varieties of organized Christianity, as well as the principal systems that contain elements derived from Christianity.

In Part I, his treatment of the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches is both full and fair. The other Oriental Churches and the Old Catholic Church receive due and satisfactory attention. The Catholic Apostolic or Irvingite Congregations, the Moravians, the Plymouth Brethren, and the Swedenborgians receive possibly more attention than their numerical importance warrants. The scope of the book covers not only all of the afore-mentioned, but also the Church of England and the Anglican Communion, the Church of South India, the Lutheran Church, the Reformed Church, the Methodist Church, the Congregational Churches, the Baptist Churches, the Disciples of Christ, the Pentacostalists, the Salvation Army, the Adventists, and the Society of Friends.

In Part II there are brief, but fairly adequate, surveys of Unitarianism, Christian Science, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Mormonism—all on the fringe, as it were, of Christendom, but external thereto.

A concluding section treats of the limits of Christendom, features common to the various Churches, and the theological problems posed by the disunion of Christendom. An Appendix gives an excellent summary and appraisal of the Ecumenical Movement; and the book concludes with a full bibliography and a helpful series of indexes.

The chapter given over to the Church of England and the Anglican Communion is very satisfactory in its historical survey of the English Church and of the various movements that have affected its life, right down to the present day—thanks partly to Canon Turner, who does full justice to the liturgical movement and other recent developments. One might question some of the statistics. The baptized membership of the Church of Ireland, surely, is about three times the 150,000 recorded, and the figure of 1,500 incumbents in the Church of England must be a misprint for 15,000. We note, however, that the treatment of other parts of the Anglican Communion, and of the Protestant Epis-

copal Church in the United States of America in particular, is quite sketchy and inadequate. This points up the European bias of the author, which is further illustrated by his very sketchy and limited treatment of American Presbyterianism and Methodism, his almost total ignorance of the varieties of American Baptists, and the complete omission of any reference to the Churches of Christ in his very brief treatment of the Disciples of Christ.

But perhaps it is too much to expect any European authority to understand the psychology of American sectarianism, the proliferation of our sects, or even the effects of American democracy upon the churches which have been transplanted here from Europe. Suffice it to say that Dr. Molland has given us a very helpful and useful book of reference, and has done so with an admirable degree of objectivity.

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The Recovery of Unity: a Theological Approach. By E. L. Mascall.
New York, Longmans, 1958. Pp. xiii + 242. \$5.75.

A significant editorial in *The Christian Century* of June 8, 1960, bears the caption, "Is it Church Unity?" The editorial in question reviews Dr. Robert Lee's *The Social Sources of Church Unity* (Abingdon, \$4.50), with its analysis of the pressures that push American Christians ever closer together, and asks the pertinent question whether the sort of unity thus being thrust upon us is a distinctively *Christian* unity. "Do we want the kind of church unity that our culture is imposing on us?" Merely to ask the question is to point up the importance of the theological approach.

To Dr. Mascall, writing as an Anglican in the *milieu* of English Christianity, the problem of Christian unity is fundamentally a theological one. He is convinced that the theological issues are much more profound than has heretofore been recognized, and that theological unity ought to be sought for its own sake, because "not only are Christians divided, but their life in Christ is stunted and maimed by the partial and restricted nature of the theology by which it is nourished." He believes further that the current renaissance of Biblical, patristic, and liturgical theology puts us in a better situation today than for several centuries to attain something like a balanced and integrated conception of Christian truth. One of the great dangers that confronts us is the temptation to contrive shoddy and ramshackle solutions to our immediate problems on the basis of inadequate theologies which we have inherited from the sixteenth century.

In two opening chapters, "Clearing the Ground," Dr. Mascall shows how neither Catholics nor Protestants in the 16th century escaped from their common mediaeval heritage. Mediaeval clericalism, mediaeval piet-

ism, mediaeval nominalism influenced Reform and Counter-Reform alike, producing different though analogous manifestations.

Dr. Mascall then evaluates the three different symposia prepared at the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury—*Catholicity* (Anglo-Catholic), *The Fulness of Christ* (Evangelical), and *The Catholicity of Protestantism* (Free Church). He commends the clear-headedness of the recommendation of the first-named "to go behind our contemporary systems and strive for the recovery of the fulness of Tradition within the thought and worship and order and life of each of the sundered portions of Christendom." Without idealizing Eastern Orthodoxy, he is convinced that Eastern Christendom has much to teach us in the process of getting behind the Reformation and the Middle Ages. Yet there is nothing utopian or romantic about this task. We must see the Church's life as one great stream of supernatural vitality rather than approach it in an antiquarian spirit. We must exercise the critical faculty and yet refrain from denigrating every late development. Devotion to the Sacred Humanity of our Lord is cited as a case in point. Dr. Nygren's great book, *Agape and Eros*, raises the question whether Protestant theology is adequate to Protestant religion. Our author agrees with Père Bouyer that "the deadlock between Catholics and Protestants on the theological level has been mainly due to their common inheritance of uncriticized, but highly criticizable, assumptions and thought-forms from the theologically decadent late Middle Ages."

In two illuminating chapters on "The Rediscovery of the Liturgy," Dr. Mascall criticizes the "horizontal" ecclesiology of Catholicism on the ground that it tends to become too materialistic and secularized, and the "vertical" ecclesiology of Protestantism as too subjective and atomistic. We cannot think of the Church as a purely earthly body with a constantly changing membership. "Men enter the Church by baptism; they do not leave it by death. Our membership of the Church thus endures as we pass from the Church militant into the Church expectant and triumphant." The Church is an organism, "a body which is continually *growing*, which is being built up into the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. And what is true of the Church as a whole is true of the apostolic ministry which is the organ of the Church's unity." "Not the priest offering Christ, nor Christians offering themselves, but *the whole Christ*, Head and members, offering *the whole Christ* to the glory of God the Father" is the touchstone of liturgical reform. On the basis of these criteria, he criticizes the mediaevalism of Luther, the inadequacies of Zwinglian and Calvinistic worship, the limitations of Cranmer's liturgical reform, and the aesthetic neo-paganism of Baroque Catholicism. He holds that Anglicanism has a unique opportunity to utilize and demonstrate the insights of the modern Liturgical Movement. Yet, while not unsympathetic with the development of the Parish Communion within Anglicanism, he shares with Archbishop Ramsey of York certain valid misgivings with respect to its growing popularity.

In two chapters on "Church and Ministry," Dr. Mascall argues strongly the futility of acceptance of the historic episcopate and three-

fold ministry without any theory or interpretation of the episcopate as a condition of reunion. Digressing to criticize Dr. Norman Sykes' *Old Priest and New Presbyterian*, he concludes, after making many telling points, "I cannot think of any worse service that could be done to the Church of England today than to attempt to bind it down to the ecclesiology of the post-Reformation period." Holding firmly to the thesis that the function of the Apostles is a permanent necessity in the Church and that the episcopate in fact succeeded to this function, our author emphasizes Fr. Hebert's contention that "the Bishop in Catholic Christendom is the link between the universal and the local Church, between the whole body of Christ's people . . . and the diocese, which is not just *part* of the Church of God, but *is* the Church of God manifested in a particular place." His relation to the universal Church is reflected in the ancient canonical requirement of *three* episcopal consecrators. Mascall agrees also with Dr. A. L. Peck in *The Church of Christ* in emphasizing the essentially *personal* character which is maintained in the Christian religion by the centrality of the episcopate. He eschews "relay race" and "pipe line" conceptions of apostolic succession, but maintains that the derivation of the Church's threefold ministry through the ascended Christ, the great High Priest and Apostle, is essential to the Church's Liturgy and to any enduring reunion.

In two closing chapters on "Church and Papacy," Dr. Mascall covers familiar Anglican ground. He agrees with the Archbishop of York that "a Papacy which expresses the general mind of the Church in doctrine, and which focuses the organic unity of all the Bishops and of the whole Church, might well claim to be a legitimate development in and through the Gospel." But the development of the claim of Papal Infallibility and of the Pope's universal jurisdiction over every diocese not only cannot be justified on Scriptural and historical grounds, but represents the triumph of the institutional over the organic. He quotes Archbishop Ramsey, "the institutional represents something narrower than the Body of Christ."

Dr. Mascall has written a strong book, going to the root of things which are essential to the recovery of the lost unity of Christendom. He writes under no illusions as to the faults and failures of Anglicanism, and certainly under no utopian and unrealistic ideas as to the imminence of organic reunion. He is thoroughly conversant with the pertinent literature on the subject. And he writes with clarity and charity and with great cogency. This is a book to be reckoned with by all who are concerned with the fulfilment of our Saviour's prayer, "that they may all be one."

E. H. ECKEL.



The Quest for Unity. By Matthew Spinka. New York, Macmillan, 1960. Pp. 85. \$2.50.

Dr. Matthew Spinka, former editor of *Church History* and now Waldo Professor of Church History Emeritus, the Hartford Seminary

Foundation, delivered the substance of this book as the Carew Lecture for 1958 at the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

That the fissiparous tendency of American Protestantism is far from spent is abundantly testified, ever since the beginning of this century, by the continued proliferation of "come-outer" fundamentalist and pentecostal sects, to say nothing of fringe sects and cults. On the other hand, a most encouraging counter-tendency toward Church unity has produced, on the world scene, the Faith and Order Movement, the Life and Work Movement, and the World Council of Churches. And in this country we have not only the National Council of the Churches of Christ, embracing in its membership most of the larger Protestant denominations, the Protestant Episcopal Church, and representatives of Eastern Orthodoxy; but we have also seen the amalgamation of separate Churches within the Methodists, Lutheran, and Presbyterian families, the movement to amalgamate the Congregational-Christian and the Evangelical-Reformed Churches in one United Church of Christ, and (outside the pale of orthodox and evangelical Christianity) the recent merger of the Unitarian and Universalist denominations.

Dr. Spinka surveys fairly, objectively, and sympathetically the whole history of the so-called Ecumenical Movement from the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1886-9 down to the present. He draws a distinction between the "ecumenicists," whose goal is the attainment of the "Great Church" or *Una Sancta*, and the "Federalists," with their more limited goal of cooperation through the National Council and the World Council of Churches. He finds in the intransigence of Rome and of Eastern Orthodoxy and in the manifest schizophrenia of Anglicanism, as seen in the fate of the approaches to unity between the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and in the very tentative and qualified acceptance of the Church of South India by the Anglican Churches, no hope of any perceptible progress along these lines. As a convinced Protestant, he feels that agreement in faith and order inevitably requires too great sacrifice of the fundamental principles and witness of the various Protestant Churches. He rightly questions the value and permanence of Church unions that involve the suppression or surrender of sincerely held convictions in the interest of outward uniformity. Therefore, as a candid realist, he favors the more limited reunion of denominational bodies whose general outlook is similar and whose original differences have ceased to be pertinent in the 20th century scene.

We are grateful to Dr. Spinka for his candor in elucidating so clearly and charitably the pitfalls that beset the quest for the *Una Sancta*—pitfalls which many Anglican leaders have been prone to ignore or brush aside too easily. At the same time, we know that the quest for the *Una Sancta* must continue, because it is our Lord's will. The basic problem is the recovery of the New Testament doctrine of the Church and the rediscovery of its implications for faith and order. As for the rest, we must be content to leave it to God the Holy Spirit, in His own time and in His own way, to bring men of good will of all ecclesiastical

traditions to that agreement of heart and mind and will where there is once again "one body and one spirit" even as we are "called in one hope of our calling," because we have "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all."

E. H. ECKEL.



Adam of Dryburgh. By James Bulloch. London, S.P.C.K. (published for the Church Historical Society), 1958. vi-185 pp. 30/

The Life of Christina of Markyate, A Twelfth Century Recluse. Edited and Translated by C. H. Talbot. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1959. x-193 pp. \$5.60.

Two fascinating pictures of the monastic life in twelfth-century Britain, when it was still a vigorous center of religious enthusiasm, are here charmingly presented.

The Cottonian Ms. of the *Life of Christina*, though damaged by fire in 1731, has been all but completely read with the help of such modern devices as an ultra-violet-ray lamp. She was the daughter of a wealthy Saxon (this is the world of *Ivanhoe*) who overcame great obstacles to achieve her monastic vocation. But, though secluded from the world, she remained in touch with it, as the friend and counselor of successive abbots of St. Alban's, and in due course her cell grew into a priory.

Adam, on the other hand, found even the semi-contemplative life of the Scottish premonstratensians too distracting, and after rising to the position of abbot of Dryburgh secured permission to become one of the brethren of the first English Carthusian foundation. Hence his sermons and commentaries, on which Bulloch's book is mainly based, reflect the ideals of two orders and illustrate the ecclesiastical life of two countries. Writing as a member of the Church of Scotland, Bulloch seems both surprised and pleased to discover the straightforward gospel piety of this mediaeval monk. Altogether, these are two admirable books which may be welcomed for their own general interest, as well as being of particular value to those concerned with monastic studies or with English and Scottish Church history.

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Chrétien, Troyes, and the Grail. By Urban T. Holmes, Jr., and Sister M. Amelia Klenke, O. P. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1959), x-230 pp. \$5.00.

Dr. Holmes and Sister Amelia Klenke would interpret the stories of the Holy Grail, as they appear nearly full-grown in Chrétien of Troyes' unfinished *Perceval*, on the basis of Christian symbolism rather

than of Celtic legends. As a basis for the scene of the Grail procession, they suggest the figures of *Ecclesia* with a chalice and *Synagoga* with the instruments of the passion often depicted on the portals of mediaeval cathedrals, noting also further contact with Chrétien's immediate environment in twelfth-century Troyes. Their arguments seem convincing, although the attempt to work out a detailed symbolism for the whole series of adventures may go too far. One must regret that experts in the Arthurian stories often (rather like specialists in the synoptic problem) seem so absorbed in their subject and so accustomed to reading each other's articles that they appear to be writing mainly for each other. A more popular treatment of what are after all romances might be in order; meanwhile the non-specialist reader of this interesting volume may be helped by noting that the plot is summarized on pp. 64-71.

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III. Theology and Philosophy

Christian Community. By J. V. Langmead Casserley. London, Longmans, 1960. Pp. x, 174. \$5.50.

This important book, dealing with the doctrine of the Church, is the first of a series which the author projects. Subsequent volumes will deal with the sacraments and Christian existentialism. Like everything Dr. Casserley writes, this book is written with originality and with a pungency that frequently startles and delights the reader.

Beginning with "The Church in the Bible," our author shows how the kindred themes of the Chosen People, the Remnant, and the Kingdom recur and overlap throughout the Bible. The Humanity of Christ is the instrument of God's will for the setting up of His Kingdom, as humanity is incorporated into the Church, which is His Body. The Christian Church, therefore, is universal or catholic in its very conception. A radical distinction between the Church and the Kingdom of God is to be deprecated, because the Church cannot be written off as a mere functional instrument. Because the Church is so wonderful and sacred a mystery, its "failures" are shocking and scandalous. "The grandeur of the Church is the measure of its misery."

The Church is not a democracy but a theocracy, and this determines its structure and polity. Casserley suggests that the debate whether the episcopate is of the *esse* of the Church, or of its *bene esse* or *plene esse*, is an unsatisfactory approach, recalling the "double standard" medieval theology of the "religious life." The unity of the Church is of such a character that it requires a visible organ of expression, and this is to be found in the historic episcopate. Furthermore, the episcopate is human priesthood *par excellence*, deriving from the eternal Priesthood

of Christ. The so-called "priesthood of the laity" cannot be set off against the ordained ministry, but is involved in the recognition of the priesthood of the whole Body of Christ. Protestant objections are fairly faced and answered, as are Roman objections to the validity of Anglican orders. The question is posed how far in contemporary Anglicanism we are allowing the administrative and financial activities of our bishops to obscure their proper liturgical, theological, and pastoral functions.

Worship is a necessity of the Church's life. Biblical worship, as delineated in both Testaments, provides no precedent for modern anti-sacerdotalism and anti-ceremonialism. "The ideal of a purely spiritual, non-liturgical, and non-ceremonial worship for purely spiritual beings is entirely false to the whole Biblical conception of man." The necessity of evangelism is rooted in the condition of the Church Militant. But the Gospel must not be confused with our own prejudices and passions. It is the proclamation of the Lordship of Christ, incarnate, crucified, risen—the presentation of Christ as the way, the truth, and the life. In the exercise of their pastoral ministry, the clergy should make Ascetic or Mystical Theology their continual study, and become familiar with its great exponents from St. Augustine to Kierkegaard. The Church is in need of prophetic witness against the employment of the world's methods to further its own proper purposes. (Mass gambling to raise money for the Church, mass publicity to "put across" the Gospel, religious revivalism, and the exploitation of group psychology and "group dynamics" are cited with particular aversion.)

The authority of the Church is always the authority of the Holy Spirit over the whole Church, speaking now through Scripture, now through popes (*sic*), now through General Councils, and validated by the mind and consent of Christendom. The Liturgy is the most authoritative element in Christian practice, since its essential function is to repeat and perpetuate the pattern of divine redemptive action which the Church proclaims when she declares the Gospel. Holy Scripture, Experience, and Reason are examined and appraised as sources of authority. With delightful exercise of logic, the difficulty of ascribing infallibility to the Papacy is brought out. A maximum convergence of Scripture, tradition, and reason is a sufficient indication of the truth which is infallible.

A chapter on "The Nature of Anglicanism" defines the Anglican Communion as a "reformed Church," but not a "Reformation Church." Living Anglicans may be divided into three groups: those who, if Anglicanism did not exist, would probably find their place in one of the great Reformation Churches; those who would find their spiritual home in Rome; and those (including the author) who would find either alternative utterly unacceptable. Anglicanism can best be appreciated not by its past history or its present state, but by what it is in the process of becoming viz., the synthesis of two extremes. And in this synthesis is to be found the way to the reunion of Christendom. Middle-of-the-road Churchmanship is sterile. Without the Anglo-Catholic witness and the evangelical witness, Anglicanism tends to degenerate into a rather complacent mediocrity. A recognition of the direction in which Anglicanism

is really going made Frederick Denison Maurice, in Casserley's opinion, the greatest of Anglican theologians, and in our day contributed to the stature of William Temple.

Discussing the role of Anglicanism in the ecumenical movement, Casserley thinks it more important that all Churches in Christendom should establish binding ties with like-minded Churches in other lands than with less like-minded Churches in their own country. "One Church for one world" is a sounder slogan than "one Church for each nation." His chief cause of misgiving about the Church of South India is whether it is really desirable to create a unified national Church in a country passing through a period of heated national emotion. He issues *caveats* against allowing federation to become a substitute for the goal of reunion, against pan-Protestantism, against the use of the Eucharist as a means toward reunion, against reunion on a kind of "Alice-in-Wonderland" basis ("all have won, and all shall have prizes"), and against any other devices which by-pass the need for substantial agreement in the doctrine of the Church and its corollaries.

Recognizing that Anglicanism has from the first been a liturgical movement, Casserley describes the Anglican liturgy as vernacular, conservative, Scriptural, and patristic. In Prayer Book revision, the preservation of literary excellence is as important as the special contributions of the theologians and liturgiologists. "The shape of the liturgy should be determined by our doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice rather than by our doctrine of the real presence."

In a final chapter on "The Future of the Anglican Communion," our author recognizes that, while there is no written constitution of the Anglican Communion, we should make the most of the Lambeth Conference and other means of fostering Anglican unity. He fears that the present system whereby each part of the Anglican Communion can revise its Prayer Book in complete independence of the others is slowly destroying the basis of our primarily liturgical unity. He advocates a Pan-Anglican Liturgical Conference. He urges more concentrated and continuous cooperation of the various Anglican Churches in the worldwide missionary program, and a greater exchange of ministerial personnel. The chapter—and the book—concludes with a most attractive picture of the appeal which Anglicanism can make, and ought to be making, in the world today.

Written primarily for Anglicans, this book is a well-reasoned and thought-provoking *apologia* for the Anglican position which we can and do commend heartily to all our readers.

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Answer Me This. By C. B. Moss. New York, Longmans-Green, 1959. \$3.00.

"He that complies against his will
Is of his own opinion still."

(Samuel Butler)

This quote seems to apply quite well to this present work in which it is used. *Answer Me This* impresses this reviewer as being one of those dictionary-encyclopaedic volumes which ill suit the basic non-confessional nature of Anglicanism. Dr. Moss, in his introduction, states: "I have written this book because I was invited to do so." It seems worth questioning whether this statement does not constitute something of an apology.

However, let us not be misunderstood. Most knowledgeable Anglicans can certainly accept the bulk of Dr. Moss' discussion. My skepticism does not so much arise over concern for the answers given, but rather over the advisability of the creation of this type work for general consumption. A text book is one thing—a "popular" theological handbook is quite another. Many know, admire and have used the author's *Christian Faith* as a text book introduction to dogmatic theology. I am not certain that the "average" churchman can, will, or should use *Answer Me This* in the same way.

There is little that a brief review can say concerning this book. The topics are so broad and varied in nature that one can come away from a reading of it with similar broad notions. For what they are worth, I will state my such broad notions:

- (1) Dr. Moss has faithfully, and almost to a fault, followed the "orthodox" line. In so doing, there is often more than a hint of dogmatism in his answers.
- (2) Due to the wide variety of subjects discussed, the book must be used as a "ready reference," in which will be found one priest's considered opinion. Dr. Moss does point out that he has omitted numerous references, which fact may contribute to the feeling of dogmatism and personal opinion.
- (3) Referring back to the opening quotation, it seems dangerous that casual readers will either be too superficially persuaded or be put off by an attempt at Anglican confessionalism.

In fine, I would feel that Dr. Moss has done his own scholarship an injustice, and, perhaps worse, a sincere attempt to instruct the American congregation of the Anglican Communion might well do it more harm than good.

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How and What the Church Teaches. By William Sydnor. New York, Longmans-Green, 1960.

Here is another of those books which lend themselves with diffi-

culty to a limited review. *How and What the Church Teaches* consists largely of a compilation of William Sydnor's admirable series of articles in Seabury's *Christian Education Findings*. This series, titled "What the Church is teaching Week by Week," will give those who followed it a good indication of the second and major portion of this present book. In fact, the same sub-title is given to that portion of the book. To attempt any detailed comment on this section would be too long an exegetical exercise for this review. In brief, this major part of the book attempts to establish a teaching theme for each Sunday of the year. It tries further to relate themes to the year long, year in, year out message which the Church intends to deliver to her people. The theme is based on the Propers (collect, epistle, Gospel) and also on the psalm and lections. Without being in anyway judgemental concerning Mr. Sydnor's conclusions as to the themes there presented, there are yet two things to be said for his work:

1. The author has done a monumental and admirable task of collating the liturgical material for each week, a collation which will prove helpful to all, whether or not they agree with the conclusions drawn.
2. It is clearly shown that the Church in her most familiar guise—public worship—is saying something which has coherence, unity and meaning, and that, contrary to much popular opinion, the services are not simply empty, formal, Sunday exercises, performed for an unknown God Who prefers to remain that way.

However, it is the first part of the book, only about fifteen pages in length, which is by far the more important of the two. It is here that Mr. Sydnor demonstrates the existence of, and pleads for, the use of the Church's teaching office. He points out in broad, strong strokes what he is later to particularize—that, in all the Church does, she is teaching. He points out the "intrinsic" teaching in the Church's liturgy. He goes on to insist that this intrinsic value should be bolstered by deliberate teaching within the limits allowable, without unnecessarily distorting the dignity of the service. Here is a strong plea for Christian education which will reach the masses. This is a voice that has been heard to some extent already, and which should be heard to a much greater extent. William Sydnor's book will help to carry the message to those who can best implement these suggestions whereby the Church might be aroused to live up to her legacy of teaching.

HENRY W. PRIOR.



Creative Giving. By Hiley H. Ward. New York, Macmillan Co., 1958. \$3.75.

Here is a book which eminently fulfills the suggestion of its title. Mr. Ward has given carefully and clearly an idea holding within itself the seeds of creativity for the Church Militant. The idea in itself is not new. Probably, many parish clergy have thought much about the main

thesis which our author presents. The value of the book lies in his careful analysis of the entire question of giving and his courageous and inspiring presentation of the "impractical." From the opening discussion of creative giving in an almost homiletic manner, through what might well have been a dry analysis of the various plans presently employed in church giving, right on to the conclusion of the book, the presentation has a freshness and appeal on what seems to me to be a deep level.

Hiley H. Ward was Baptist-trained. It may be this fact which contributes to the surprising pleasure afforded by his book to "free thinking" Anglicans. Throughout, his presentation is most unbiased. He has seemed to draw from the best of all thinkers and writers on his subject. So far as I could tell, there is no "bent" at all to his arguments. The only "axe" which he has to grind is his main thesis of creating giving, with no denominational or sectarian strings attached. What then has Ward to say?

In a very logical and concise manner, Mr. Ward sets out to prove his contention that creative, spontaneous giving is the answer to Christian lethargy as we are now experiencing it. After a brief examination of "What is Creative Giving," approached from the Scriptural angle and seen through Scripture as a total giving, he moves on to a long analysis of tithing. Seeing this as the most common "rule of thumb" for giving, Mr. Ward presents a careful history of the tithe from the Old Testament practice through the Reformation. His argument is well documented and takes account of opinions which have been expressed which are counter to his own. His purpose is to point out the many limitations of tithing and other systems of proportionate giving. Mr. Ward is particularly concerned with the legalism and secularism attendant upon all such systems, factors which contribute to the making of church giving into a "spectator sport."

Picking up from his opening chapter, Mr. Ward moves to a discussion of spontaneity. The question of motive looms large and our author covers a number of accepted motives for giving and points out that most of them, even that of thanksgiving, become hedged about with legalisms when they are advanced as criteria for giving. Giving must be in response to Christ, not to some principle or system. In reaching this conclusion, Mr. Ward removes it from the realm of "pious-ity" or mere spirituality, as he faces up to the problems involved in spontaneous giving, and moves on to concrete suggestions as to how the churches can face the problem.

As has any book presenting a thesis with strength and conviction, this book has its weaknesses. Many could argue with some of the theology expounded, and I for one am not too convinced by Mr. Ward's answers to the problems involved in spontaneity. But the book has value as inspiration and idea, and on this level can be most valuable to all who struggle with the common problem of which *Creative Giving* treats.

HENRY W. PRIOR.



The Religion of the Occident. By Martin A. Larson. New York, Philosophical Library, 1959. Pp. xx + 711. \$6.

This is a bulky, unwieldy book physically, and correspondingly indigestible otherwise. As its sub-title indicates, the author attempts to present "the origin and development of the Essene-Christian Faith." His thesis is that the ancient religions of Egypt and Greece, Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, the ancient mystery cults, Judaism, and Essenism all contributed to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and influenced the early Christians in their formulation of orthodox Christian doctrine.

Dr. Larson rightly disposes of the now thoroughly discredited school who would question that Jesus ever lived. He is conversant with the trends of modern Biblical criticism, and he has kept abreast of the recent archaeological discoveries in Palestine—the Dead Sea Scrolls, etc. But he is incredibly credulous in his efforts to discover pre-Christian analogues to the miraculous events of the Gospel narratives and to find in the ethics of Jesus an amalgam of Buddhist-Pythagorean-Essene morality! In his treatment of early Christian history and the development of Catholic theology, he is Gibbon *redivivus*.

An introduction contributed by Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes reveals the essentially secularist and humanist bias of the book. Dr. Barnes is convinced that Dr. Larson's studies "must undermine the basis for all narrow sectarianism, dogmatic bigotry, and arrogant intolerance within the realm of Christian doctrine and practice," and result in a revival of Auguste Comte's *Religion of Humanity*.

Really! This sort of thing has been attempted time and again, with the same inconclusive results. For the evidence permits, and indeed favors, an entirely different interpretation and conclusion than is reached by the author under review. To quote the wise and measured words of Dr. Sanday, still pertinent though written some sixty years ago:

"If we believe that the course of human ideas, however mixed in their character—as all human things are mixed—is yet part of a single development, and that development presided over by a Providence which at once imparts to it unity and prescribes its goal—those who believe this may well see in the fantastic outgrowth of myth and legend something not wholly undesigned or wholly unconnected with the Great Event which was to be, but rather a dim unconscious preparation for that Event, a groping towards it of the human spirit, a prophetic instinct gradually moulding the forms of thought in which it was to find expression." (Hastings DB, Vol. II, p. 647 in the article on "Jesus Christ.")

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The Historic Reality of Christian Culture. By Christopher Dawson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960. \$3.00.

No review can do justice to the rich tapestry of Professor Dawson's presentation of the meaning of Christian culture. Dawson's is a refutation of the cultural indifference of some Christian existentialists; it is a denial of the cultural limitation of Christianity to the West; it is an affirmation that the West does have its center in that Hellenic Christianity which has produced Christian art, literature, architecture, philosophy and government.

Dawson thinks that our crucial problems in the West have their roots in the cultural poverty of modern higher education. Our universities have taught that all cultures are equal and that all lead to the same goal. Thus, our cultural relativism leaves us without arms with which to fight Communism. It is true that Christianity can express itself in various cultural media, but, because of the loss of the cultural generating force of Christianity, the West has lost the force which unites it. The cultural dynamic center of Western Europe and America has been destroyed. A study of comparative cultures will not give to education a generative cultural force with which to regenerate society. However, a profitable task is that of studying the Hellenic and Christian culture in its many phases as the orientation of ideas needed by our civilization.

There is much else in this exciting book, the creation of Western culture by Christianity, a critique of the relativism of Toynbee and the instrumentalism of Dewey, but the principle contribution is the relevance of a study of Christian culture in all its phases to the higher intellectual life of Western man. It is not Western technology which can save the world, but a Christianity which can redeem and create cultures as ours was created in the past. Our tragedy is that we deny the creative center of our own civilization.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

*The University of the South,
Sewanee, Tennessee.*



Symbolism in the Bible and the Church. By Gilbert Cope. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. \$10.00.

This is a work which deals with many fields of knowledge. The author thinks that our post-Darwinian, post-Freudian and post-Einstein age cannot use our traditional theology in a strict and literal sense. The stories of the Bible and the sacraments of historical Christianity are primarily symbols and are significant as symbols. Although the Bible may contain history, its convincing power lies not in that history but in the appeal of the symbols used.

Our author thinks that we can now use images with a freedom impossible for our Reformation forefathers. That is because they thought

of Roman Catholic symbols as expressions of ontological and historical facts, as the Romans themselves did. For that reason, the Reformers rejected more than they should have.

Mr. Cope, an Anglican priest, thinks the escape from the deadly character of a historical interpretation of the Bible (*literal interpretation* in the sense of Cajetan and Hooker) lies in the interpretation of the imagery of the Bible and the Church by way of Jung's psychology of images. This means that much is sexual which we had previously not considered as such. For our author, Jung is valid for *all* psychology, not only abnormal, but normal as well.

If we accept Jung, we can use a new typology in interpreting the Bible. It is interesting to see typological and allegorical exegesis coming into the realm of Biblical studies by way of Jungian psychology. It means a radical reinterpretation of an historical religion and a radical change in its doctrines. And this is the author's intent. We can keep the ancient symbols, but we must give them new meanings.

This interpretation of the role of exegesis in terms of Jungian psychology is a reversal of the strong tendency from the sixteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century to make the Bible historical. Even as late as Harnack and Schweitzer, the quest was for the historical Jesus and direct revelation of God. This new stress on symbols, accepted by our author and many others, saves us from literalism, but it may destroy the historical and creedal power of religion.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

The University of the South.



Religion in Plato and Cicero. By John E. Rexine. New York: Philosophical Library. 1959. \$2.75.

There is a new interest in our days in both Plato and Cicero. Jaeger, a classical scholar and student of civilization, has shown us the place of Plato at the very center of Greek *Paideia* or culture. Hartvig Frisch, Danish statesman and professor of classical philology, has shown the importance of Cicero as the Roman champion of liberty.

Professor Rexine reveals to us what Plato considers the public or state religion should be. For this purpose, he uses the scattered references to religion in the *Laws*, a work recently issued with a commentary by England and translated by A. E. Taylor. Plato is not only a theologian but he is interested in the culture which the state defends through its educational system and its law. Plato desires a religious culture encouraged by the state.

We do not possess the whole of Cicero's *Laws*, but the section on religion is extant. Cicero differs from Plato. His is a legal religion rather than a religion of *paideia* or culture.

Professor Rexine performs a service in contrasting the religious conception of two great masters of ancient Graeco-Roman thought. How-

ever, for a knowledge of the richness of our heritage, we should turn to the *Laws* of Plato and of Cicero themselves.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

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A World Without Jews. By Karl Marx. New York: Philosophical Library. 1957. \$2.75.

The importance of this book lies in the fact that it furnishes us with an unexpurgated translation of Karl Marx's papers on the Jewish question. These writings cannot be understood apart from Marx's conception of world history. Marx considers that the goal of history is man as a member of the race and man as a part of total humanity. Marx is opposed to all forms of individualism, and would even call Aquinas' stress on personality, egoism. It is the group man who is the goal of history, and the group man organized economically.

The evil of Judaism is its stress on the individual, and this stress is the source of bourgeois society. Judaism has made Christianity bourgeois. What is needed is not the freedom of Judaism to have its own religion within a society tolerating many kinds of religions. That merely increases the power of Judaism to shape modern nations, and has, in fact, made them capitalistic. What the world needs is an emancipation from religion itself, and particularly from Judaism—the source of capitalism. Marx's strictures also apply to Christianity, both in its feudal and in its modern forms. However, he thinks that Judaism is more clearly individualistic and capitalistic than even Christianity.

Many aspects of Marx's thought have been modified in the developments of modern communistic theory, but here we have a theme accepted as explicitly by Khrushchev as by Marx himself. Here we have the source of the present Soviet conception of a Jerusalem-New York axis, to which the Moscow-Peking axis is opposed.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

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Magic and Religion. By George B. Vetter. New York: Philosophical Library. 1958. \$6.00.

The author of this work interprets religion in terms of a behavioristic psychology, and thinks that religion is that realm of human action which is "important or vital to man, and in which he yet lacks effective means of control." Therefore, as man acquires a new means of effective control, he should drop religion and use the new scientific and social controls now available.

The danger is—according to our author—that we shall continue

to use an obsolete religious pattern instead of the scientific one. This is what makes the priest so dangerous: he is continuing an outmoded way of life. Therefore, our author has much sympathy for the Chinese in destroying the priestly celibacy of Tibet, and for Russia in giving the world a new up-to-date ethics. But his greatest love is for those committed to no abiding ethical principles, but "open-minded" and without any but probable opinions.

The theme of the work is the danger of all traditional religion, particularly sacerdotal religion. Much of the evil he attributes to the Church is truly evil, but our author forgets the good of historic Christianity, and he is quite wrong about the values of our recent and contemporary intellectuals. The Church needs a strong and critical intellectual leaven, but our contemporary intellectuals need the creative influence of historical Christianity. All the new is not true, but some of it is, and all the old is not false, although some of it is. The Church has a great tradition, which ought to be examined and tested from generation to generation, but we need the tradition of Christian morality and freedom. Our great Christian exponents of social morality have saved us time and time again. We need the Christian natural law and constitutional tradition to save us from the terrors of immorality and totalitarianism.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

The University of the South.



Mysticism and the Modern Mind. By Alfred P. Stiernotte (Editor).
New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1959. \$4.50.

This book of essays expounds mysticism in terms of naturalism, logical positivism, existentialism and theological humanism. The attempt is made to prove that these schools of thought, although seemingly alien to mysticism, are in fact congenial to it. The only exception is an essay on Hindu mysticism.

It is significant that the authors wish to prove that mysticism is fruitful and valuable. Certainly the usual exponent of the schools of thought represented by the volume would have in the past regarded mysticism as the foe of his philosophy.

In this volume mysticism is separated from the traditional metaphysics with which it has been associated and is related to the universal experience of man. Whether naturalism and existentialism can re-evaluate mysticism and furnish it with a valid explanation is a problem for the serious student of mysticism itself what our authors have defined it to be? That is the question.

JOHN S. MARSHALL.

The University of the South
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Thunder on the Left. By Oscar W. Miller. New York: Philosophical Library. 1959. \$2.00.

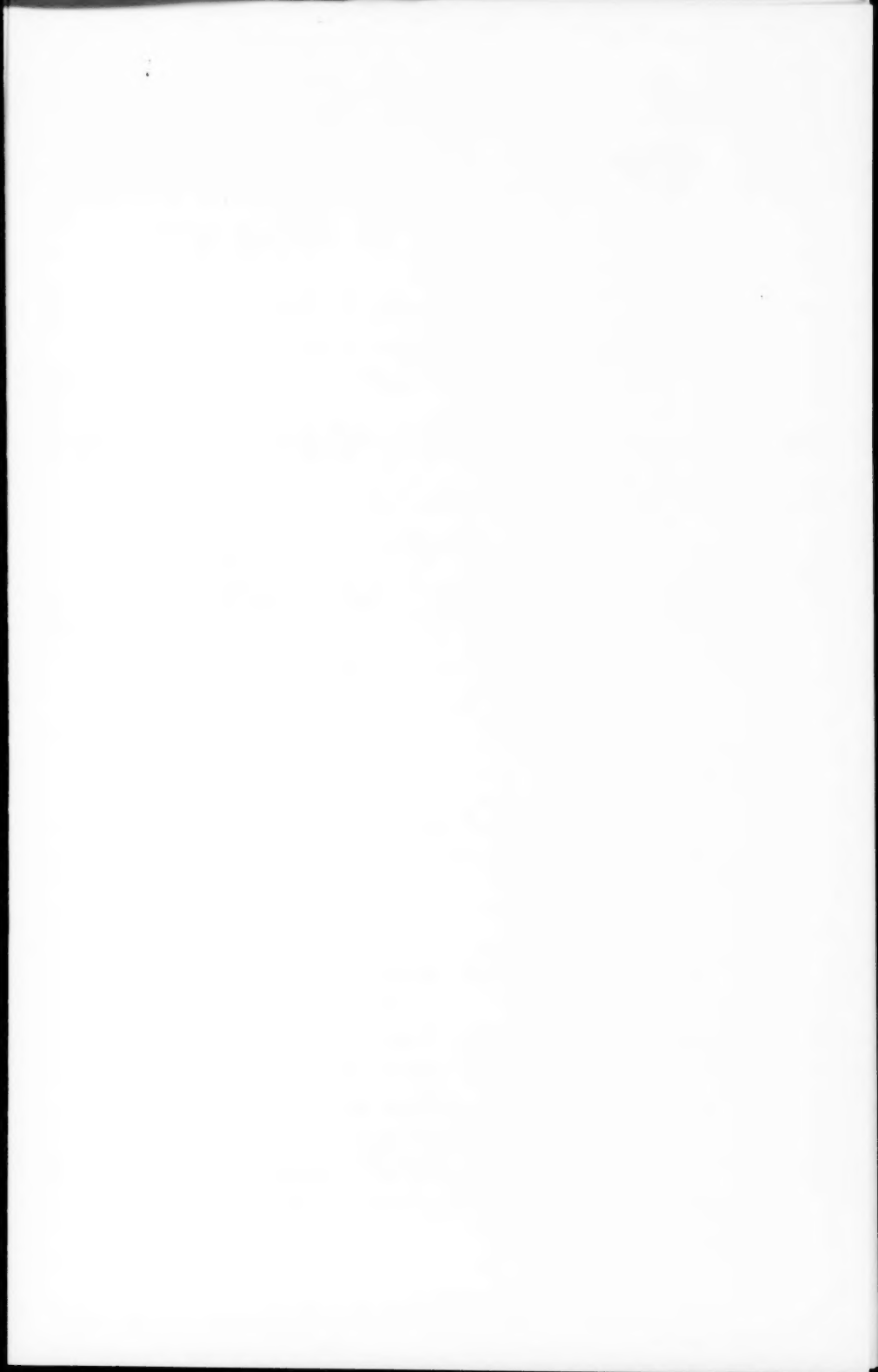
This work consists of a series of very short essays, yet the philosophy expounded is fairly consistent throughout the volume. The author is a Kantian, but one who holds that the God of Kant's second *Critique* is not an objective God, but is only an ideal immanent in our experience.

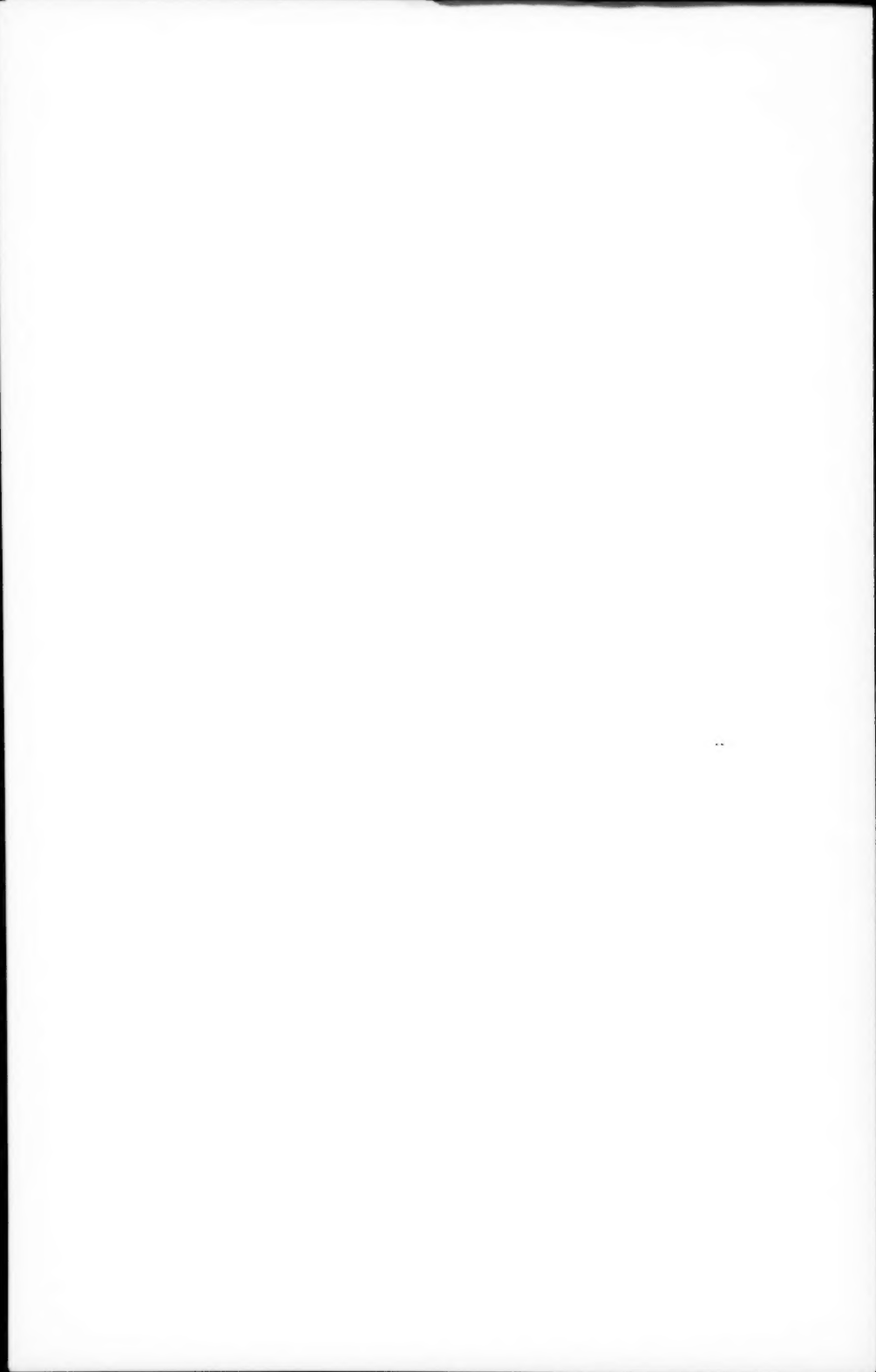
Our author fears the revival of traditional religion in our day because it means for him the reification of myth. His mind clings to the notions of Vaihinger, James and Dewey. He recognizes that religious ideas do unite us and are instruments of action, but he fears the acceptance of them intentionally pointing to objective reality. Instead, he thinks of them as symbols which project, personify, and express our subjective experience, but in fact refer to no real objective reality.

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